

**AIDS: Bono
on America's
greatest fight**

**The U.S. and
Pakistan: Friends
without benefits**
BY FAREED ZAKARIA

**Turkey's
moderate
revolution**

**Girls just
want to watch
football**
BY JOEL STEIN

TIME

WHY DON'T THEY LIKE ME?

**Mitt Romney's
quest for Republican
hearts and minds**

By Joe Klein


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Photograph by Brooks Kraft—Corbis for TIME



GOP presidential hopeful Mitt Romney speaks to supporters at a manufacturing company in Dubuque, Iowa. Photograph by Danny Wilcox Frazier—Redux for TIME

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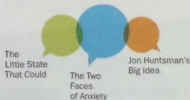
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EDITOR'S DESK

The Long Run and What It Takes



Joe Klein and I have a long-running debate. He says we'd all be better off if politicians fired their pollsters and spoke from the heart. I argue that they don't necessarily have anything that they truly believe, and furthermore, we're a representative democracy, so why shouldn't politicians conform to what voters want?

I know I'm not going to win this argument (Joe is very stubborn), but I'm not sure there's a single right answer. Joe's careful, thoughtful cover story on Mitt Romney reveals a politician who both has core beliefs and also has molded himself to the electorate. In many ways, most politicians represent some combination of these two attributes. It's just that the ratios vary.

This is Joe's 10th—yes, 10th—presidential campaign, and he brings two powerful weapons to bear every time he writes: a historian's understanding of the U.S. and a reporter's eye for detail. With a month to go before the voting begins in Iowa, his firsthand reporting helps explain why the Republican race's longtime front runner just hasn't caught fire. "This is one of the stranger races I've ever covered," Joe says. "Because the GOP has perhaps the least qualified field in years at a crucial moment in the country's history."

Over the course of the year, we have profiled all the major Republican candidates who have emerged, risen and (sometimes) fallen. We now begin our primary coverage with an unmatched team composed of Joe, Mark Halperin, David Von Drehle, Michael Scherer, Michael Crowley, Jay Newton-Smith, Alex Altman and Katy Steinmetz. And our coverage is presided over by our newly named executive editor, the peerless Michael Duffy.

Pick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'Grace under fire—is that what we're talking about?'

CNN's Alina Cho posed this question to TIME science editor Jeffrey Kluger about our cover story

"**The Two Faces of Anxiety**," which details the latest findings on how stress hormones can wear down the body or pump it up to peak performance. Last week's issue also caused considerable consternation among bloggers and readers, who objected to our putting the protests in Egypt inside our domestic edition and on the cover overseas. "Why is anxiety the most pressing issue in the U.S. while the Egyptian revolution gets front-page treatment internationally?" read a typical e-mail. Observers at ShortFormBlog analyzed a year's worth of our covers and concluded each edition gets the same amount of hard news, give or take an issue or two. We're glad to be held to high expectations, especially when the bar is set by one of our own editions.



Gadget Guide

Overwhelmed by the glut of year-end tech deals? Fret not: TIME's Techland blog cuts through the clutter with its 2011 Buyers' Guide, which features 25 of the coolest new contraptions on the market. The list, arranged from least to most expensive, includes a touchscreen universal remote control that connects to the Web, an ingenious smart-phone case and a childproof tablet, shown above. Find them at techland.time.com.

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Shane D., Repair Technician in Newport News, VA

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Rethinking Angst

Your cover story brings an important issue to light, but for most people, modern anxiety is harmful ["The Two Faces of Anxiety," Dec. 5]. While the

stressors faced by average citizens are nowhere near as physically threatening as the saber-toothed tigers our ancestors confronted, their frequency and lack of resolution generates chronic stimulation of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis. This hormonal dysfunction impacts health issues like heart disease, infertility and cancer. As a doctor of naturopathic medicine, I find most patients require hormonal-imbalance correction in order for cognitive-behavioral therapy to be effective.

Penny Kendall Reed, N.D., TORONTO

As a clinical psychologist, I was impressed that *TIME* mentioned behavioral techniques used to treat everything from



LIGHTBOX

Religious Experience

After a stinging incident at the University of Missouri in which a fellow student called him Osama, Hindu photographer Bharat Choudhary began to chronicle young Muslims in the U.S. and the U.K. His series, "The Silence of Others," which includes this image of Londoners going to a conference on Islam, is on lightbox.time.com.

**YOUR
CASH BACK
SHOULDN'T
JINGLE
IN YOUR POCKET.**

generalized anxiety to panic attacks. Such techniques often mitigate the need for drugs, which sometimes have paradoxical or addictive side effects.

Herbert S. Cohen, LONGBOAT KEY, FLA.

Pension Reform

How refreshing to read about Rhode Island treasurer Gina Raimondo ["The Little State That Could," Dec. 5]. She provides a glimmer of hope that there are still people out there willing to go through the rigors of running for office not for their self-interest but for the best interests of the people who elected them.

Robert Collier, NINEVEH, IND.

Your article suggests that Raimondo and state legislators demonstrated courage by cutting the pensions of public workers and retirees. Not so. What would have shown courage would have been to raise taxes and reduce other spending so the state could have met its promises to its employees. Reneging on obligations to current retirees is especially egregious,

since many are presumably elderly with no easy way to replace the lost income.

Michael J. Keller, ANNAPOLIS, MD.

A Voice of Reason

Re "Jon Huntsman's Big Idea" [Dec. 5]: As a bleeding-heart liberal, I rarely vote Republican, but we are at the point where we need to look past special interests—whether corporate lobbyists, union leaders, gay-rights supporters or Tea Partiers—and do what is best for America. Jon Huntsman seems to be that kind of leader, and I would be hard-pressed to choose between him and President Obama in 2012. I hope the media start paying more attention to him.

Nicholas G. Schmutte, AVON, IND.

The Odds Couple

Bill Saporito makes a compelling case for lotteries ["Play the Lottery? You Bet," Dec. 5]. So why leave all those billions of dollars in profit to the states? A national lottery could easily be set up through the U.S. Postal Service. The infrastructure is already in place, with thousands of loca-

tions staffed by employees with time on their hands. Seriously, save the USPS. Cut the debt, balance the trade deficit and stimulate the economy with a few more free-spending millionaires.


Tim Neumann, DEERFIELD, MASS.

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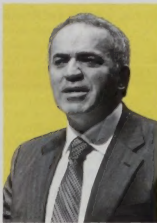
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Person of the Year. We asked TIME 100 honorees to submit nominations for 2011's Person of the Year. Some selections

Garry Kasparov

*Author, Russian
political activist
and former world
chess champion*



I nominate **the Arab street**. The breathtaking democratic transformation that has swept the Arab world cannot be reduced to any individual or group. From Tunisia to Egypt to Libya, what they all had in common was the recognition by a critical mass of people, particularly young people, that their voices and their dreams would never find expression without action. Where there is unity and will, the soul's desire for freedom will create the opportunity.

Jennifer Egan

*Author of the
Pulitzer Prize-
winning novel
A Visit from the
Goon Squad*



I've been torn two ways and unable to choose between Occupy Wall Street and the democracy movements of the Middle East. So maybe the answer is an even broader idea: **the year of protest**, fueled by individuals willing to risk personal safety to reject a status quo that is patently, brutally unfair. The final outcomes are in no way clear, but the fact that they're happening in places as disparate as Wall Street and Libya is a defining moment in our history.

Glenn Beck
*Best-selling author,
commentator and host
of The Glenn Beck
Program*



I nominate **the guy who set himself on fire in Tunisia**. He is and will in time be remembered as this epoch's Archduke Ferdinand. A man with a pushcart will be marked by historians as the starting point of cataclysmic global change. The world is on the eve of global war and perhaps civil war, and he was the match to the world's kindling. As I said a year ago, once you start the fire of revolution, there is the chance the flames will engulf the entire world.




IT'S READY
TO FIND A CUP OF COFFEE.
BLACK. NO SUGAR. NO WHIP.
NO FOAM. HOLD THE ICE CREAM
AND THE CUTE NAMES. ARE YOU?

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IT'S READY. ARE YOU?



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Briefing

'I never voted because I was never sure it was for real. This time, I hope it is.'

1. **SHAHIRA AHMED**, Cairo resident, on voting in Egypt's first parliamentary elections since the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak

'It was the Sandusky stuff that really made me think about it ... It made me sick to see all that support for Fine at that point. I was positive he was guilty.'

2. **ZACH TOMASELLI**, a 23-year-old who alleges that fired Syracuse University assistant basketball coach Bernie Fine molested him in 2002; Tomaselli has also been accused of sexually abusing a boy

'It was someone who was supposed to be a friend but obviously didn't see it that way.'

3. **HERMAN CAIN**, Republican presidential candidate, on the nature of his relationship with Ginger White, a Georgia woman who claims she had a 13-year affair with him

'The proposed Consent Judgment is neither fair, nor reasonable, nor adequate, nor in the public interest.'

4. **JED RAKOFF**, U.S. district judge for the Southern District of New York, rejecting a proposed plan by the SEC to settle a toxic-mortgage-securities case with Citigroup for \$285 million with no admission of wrongdoing from the bank

'One of the advantages of not running for office is I don't even have ... to try to be nice to people I don't like.'

5. **BARNEY FRANK**, Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts, announcing he would not seek re-election in 2012 after serving 16 terms in the House of Representatives



\$101,120

Cost of all 364 items named in the song 'The Twelve Days of Christmas.' This is the first time the total, estimated by PNC Wealth Management, is more than \$100,000.

\$13 BILLION

Amount of income big banks earned by taking advantage of below-market rates on emergency Fed loans from 2007 to 2010, according to a Bloomberg Markets report

2,000%

Percentage increase in tweets written in Arabic over the past 12 months, making it the fastest growing language on the social-media site



40,000

Number of NATO and ISAF troops projected to leave Afghanistan by the end of 2012; the reduction includes 33,000 Americans sent as part of the 2009 troop surge



Briefing

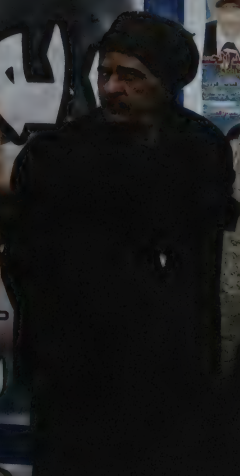
LightBox



Faces of change

Voters in the Cairo slum of Manshiyet Nasser line up at a polling station. Egypt staged landmark democratic elections, the first since the February ouster of long-ruling President Hosni Mubarak

Photograph by Yuri Kozirev—Noor for TIME
lightbox.time.com



World



From the Streets to the Ballot Box

1 EGYPT The many thousands of Egyptians queuing patiently outside balloting stations for the elections that began on Nov. 28 knew they were making history: for the first time in living memory, they were being asked to vote without already knowing the outcome—a happy contrast with the electoral farces staged by the regime of ousted President Hosni Mubarak.

It may offer the novelty of a genuinely competitive contest, but the arcane electoral system decreed by the military council that has ruled Egypt since easing out Mubarak in February was not designed to produce

a quick result: the voting in nine of the country's 27 provinces kicked off a three-month process of choosing a new parliament. Still, voter turnout was far heavier than expected in light of recent turmoil: authorities' attempts to evict protesters from Cairo's Tahrir Square left 43 dead and more than 2,000 wounded.

The election results are expected to show Islamist parties, notably the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party, eclipsing secular and liberal rivals in the legislature tasked with writing a new constitution. (Presidential elections are scheduled for next May, after which the generals claim

they'll finally cede power.)

While secular and liberal groups have dominated the protest movement in Tahrir Square, they are dwarfed by the organizational machinery and mass support built by the Brotherhood, which has spent the past three decades operating in conditions of twilight legality, providing social services in impoverished communities that were neglected by the government.

Many of the activists in Tahrir Square had called for elections to be postponed and for power to be transferred immediately from the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to a caretaker civilian government acceptable to opposition groups. But the Brotherhood, which declined to back the recent protests and insisted that the election proceed, may have outflanked them. Polling stations had scarcely closed before Brotherhood leader Essam el-Erian demanded that a Prime Minister be picked by the new parliament rather than by the generals. When it comes to shaping Egypt's future, the legitimacy of a democratically elected legislature exceeds that of a protest encampment on Tahrir Square. —TONY KARON

Number of
Walmart stores
worldwide



SOURCE: WALMART DISCOUNT

Tension, Walmart Haters

2 INDIA Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's bid to open the country's retail sector to foreign firms drew howls of protest from allies and opposition alike and paralyzed Parliament. The catalyst of the conflict is Walmart, which has been trying for years to enter India's promising yet inefficient retail segment. Officials say retailers like Walmart will modernize distribution networks and create jobs. But local store owners, who fear they will be swallowed by the giants, aren't buying it.

ON TIME.COM

**'I haven't
dared to go to
the bathroom
since'**

ANCHALEE WANNAWET, a Bangkok resident who encountered a 20-ft-long crocodile on her way to work last month, says she has not been able to return to the Thai capital.



An overhead view of two women in Cairo casting their ballots in separate booths





Gunning for Democracy

3 | DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO Troops guarding President Joseph Kabila (not in view) walk away from a polling station in Kinshasa, the capital. National elections held on Nov. 28 have been challenged by some opposing candidates, who point to reports of vote rigging and violence. Few expect the ballot's outcome to resolve seething tensions in one of Africa's most resource-rich and war-ravaged states.

They Won't Be Having Tea

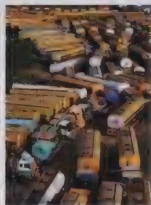
4 | IRAN A mob of students and what appeared to be proregime militia ransacked the British embassy in Tehran, briefly detaining six staff members before a conspicuously late arrival by police. The incident was a response to sanctions imposed on the Islamic Republic by the U.K., which is still resented in Iran for its imperial meddling early in the 20th century. London tossed Tehran's ambassador in retaliation.



Protesters try to dislodge a British emblem

An Outcast Nation

5 | SYRIA The regime of President Bashar Assad is being pushed deeper into a blood-soaked corner. A U.N. investigation said Syrian forces committed crimes against humanity during their brutal crackdown on mass protests against Assad's rule. The findings heap more pressure on the regime, which also faces sweeping sanctions recently approved by the usually timid Arab League. Meanwhile, officials in Turkey, once one of Syria's closest allies, called for Assad's exit.



Fuel tankers meant to supply NATO's Afghan war effort were halted in Karachi

Is the Frenemy Now Just the Enemy?

6 | PAKISTAN After a NATO strike killed 24 Pakistani soldiers, Islamabad declared "no more business as usual" with Washington, fraying already strained relations. Anger in Pakistan's streets over the soldiers' deaths mirrors U.S. frustration with Pakistan's abetting of the militants in its midst. Pakistan denied reports that NATO and Afghan forces were fired on by Taliban-allied fighters among its soldiers.

QATAR

55

Tons of carbon emissions per capita = Qatar, tops in the world. Qatar hosts next year's U.N. climate-change summit

Q&A



Thanks to You Too. For World AIDS Day, Bono talks about how close eradication is, who got us there and what's needed now

Thirty years after the first cases of AIDS were identified, rock star and activist Bono sat down with *TIME* managing editor Rick Stengel to look back and look ahead.

Where are we in the fight against AIDS now?

It's mathematics. A pandemic is on the decline at the moment when fewer people are infected than are being treated. Right now,

for every person treated with antiretroviral drug therapy, two people get infected. That has been the case for four years. This year, with some breakthroughs in science and a little more practical help, there's a chance to turn that around. Those breakthroughs are that they've discovered that antiretroviral drugs, if administered early, have

a preventative power. Male circumcision has now come out as being a really powerful tool to fight the disease. And if the mother-to-child transmission is controlled, those three things together have the effect of lowering between 40% to 60% [the rate] of infections. That's the number. If everyone commits, that's what this moment will be.

What does recommitting entail?

What we've asked for is a commitment to move the 4 million people who are treated today by the U.S. for AIDS on PEPFAR [the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief] to 6 million by 2013. We think President Obama is going to commit to that, and if he does, I will punch the air because it literally is the beginning of the end of AIDS. And as I say it to you, I can hardly believe the sound of it as it comes out of my mouth. If Congress disagrees, if the American people disagree, with this harsh recession biting at everyone's heels, then we could actually blow it. So this is the worst time to stop.

How did we get to this point?

American leadership. I mean, you Americans are so good at beating yourself up. It is remarkable. There's this sense of shrinking influence on the world. It's not true. Nearly 5 million lives have been saved around the world because of American leadership. In polling about countries that most admire the U.S., eight of the top 10 are in Africa.

Is there someone who was most crucial in this fight?

In his 2003 State of the Union speech, President Bush offered \$15 billion over five years to fight this disease, the largest ever response to a health pandemic. In 2002 there were about 300,000 people in the developing world on antiretroviral drugs. There's now 6.6 million. President Clinton's creative intelligence and negotiating skills got the price of the drugs down. And it's important to point out that the Evangelical Christian community who had been judgmental about AIDS actually repented, and they

really, as you say in America, got busy. And you've got to go back to John Kerry and Bill Frist. They had a bill—the Frist-Kerry AIDS bill—years before in the Senate which put the U.S. in the lead on this issue. But in the end, President Bush had to make that call, and I think he was being very smart. Africa is to him what China was to Nixon, and I think that's very clever because by 2050, Africa's population will be 2 billion. China's population, which is around 1.3 billion, will either have steadied or declined. There are 15 additional African economies about to become middle income over the next decade. The demand for American goods, for American technological know-how, technology, engineering, is vast.

You probably don't want to talk about this, but what was your role in moving the ball down the field?

I always thought we had to arrive in front of an elected official with a solution to the problem rather than just placard them with what's wrong. And so, yes, we campaigned for the Global Fund. Indeed, we campaigned against Bush setting up PEPFAR—that it would be just American-owned. We failed, and it has been incredibly skilled in getting these drugs out, so we didn't always get it right.

How did you get President Bush on board?

There were some funny incidents. When the President and the First Lady were in Uganda, there was a nurse who described the loss of pretty much her entire family, with precise dates and times, and left the First Family in a puddle, very emotional. And the President went up and put his arms

around her, at which moment she said, "Now don't forget about AIDS funding, because the Global Fund do a very good job." Another time, Rick Santorum was traveling in the presidential motorcade, and he started on about the Global Fund, and President Bush was like, "Did Bono put you up to this? I mean, stop the car." So we were harassing him on a daily basis. The other community we should mention is the defense community. Bush's [Secretary of State] Colin Powell described the disease as a weapon of mass destruction. I had a call from General [James] Jones, while he was still head of NATO, who wanted to understand development issues because he saw that in asymmetrical conflict, which is the war against terror, you need to stop fires from happening because it's a lot cheaper than putting them out. I've been in some unusual places as this sort of rock-star activist, but I really wasn't expecting to be sitting in the Pentagon at a table with Defense Secretary [Robert] Gates and a host of brass hats with a lot of shiny bits stuck on their uniforms.

So where are we now? Isn't there a shift more toward prevention, a pre-exposure prophylaxis?

It's called PrEP. It's a tiny bit controversial. What's absolutely not in doubt is that early treatment by antiretroviral therapy when the disease is diagnosed—that works. The PrEP is administered even before the disease is diagnosed just for high risk.

What's going on with the Global Fund?

It's really tricky to get fairly complicated health interventions to the farthest corners of the globe. One of the reasons



'[If President Obama is going to commit to [funding], it literally is the beginning of the end of AIDS... This is the worst time to stop.'

Finance Minister, you need to know what the future brings. It can't be haphazard. That's why three-year commitments like the Obama Administration has just made for \$4 billion are the way forward, because then you can plan around it. By the way, the percentage of government spending that this represents, all development, so not just the AIDS fight—against malaria, TB, poverty, hunger—all of this is less than 0.22% of GDP. To put that in context, the British have committed to getting to 0.7% of GDP by 2015. They've just written it in law—even with the severest austerity measures since the war. So you've got to give it up for the British. The French are the second biggest donors to the Global Fund, but again, these are difficult times in France. Ireland actually has made good on its promises. We're about 0.5%. So the U.S. is way lower than all European countries pretty much.

Next steps?

I met a Congressman called Sonny Callahan years ago. First, he called me Bono, which was unsettling. Then he said, "You know, you people are all the same. You'll come, you'll get the money, the money won't be spent properly, we'll never get a word of thanks if it is, and I'll never see you again." And I appreciated his candor, so I went back and told him what Congress was accomplishing, and I got to like him enormously. But it is true about activists. We love to sound the bullhorn, but we never applaud when things are turned around. We're almost shocked if people start to agree with us. And I think it's important on World AIDS Day for me to come back and thank people. That's really why I'm here.

why we support the Global Fund is that as soon as the figures don't add up in the local region and they're audited, they out themselves where there has been corruption. Unfortunately, that means sometimes you get some bad press, and in fact there's an independent inquiry that was just brought in.

What's happening with the other nations that have participated in the Global Fund?

Well, because of these bumps, some nations are on hold for their next grant. And again, it's very important, if you're a

Nation



The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Can Newt Gingrich actually beat Mitt Romney for the nomination?

Amazingly, he can. Gingrich has a chance to build a coalition of religious conservatives (his three marriages and history of

infidelity notwithstanding). Tea Partiers (despite his support for the TARP bailout and the Medicare prescription-drug benefit) and others looking to shake up Washington (if he can gloss over his multimillion-dollar influence-peddling past).

How does Newt match up with Mitt?

Many GOP voters find Romney too bloodless, blah and

insincere. Gingrich, with his volcanic seething over Barack Obama, is the kind of high-octane warrior they want to send into battle next year. Romney's aides dismiss Gingrich's long-term viability, but they might be underestimating the potency of his 30-year bond with the party's grassroots.

What's Gingrich's challenge now?

If he can be Good Newt (feisty, crisp, brainy) for the next 30 days, Gingrich will be Romney's worst nightmare. That means a disciplined focus on policy and no petulant ranting about perceived slights or travails. He's now raising enough cash to be in the game. Still, even with his surge in the polls, he is well behind Mitt Inc. in developing campaign infrastructure. As of Nov. 28, the morning after the *New Hampshire Union Leader* endorsed him, Gingrich's New Hampshire headquarters still lacked telephones.

FUEL ECONOMY

America: An Oil Exporter?

For the first time since 1949, the U.S. is poised to become a net exporter of refined petroleum products, shipping more auto and jet fuel abroad than it imported in six of the first nine months of 2011, according to the Energy Information Administration. Conservation, a slow economic recovery and new oil-field discoveries have all contributed to the trend. The U.S. remains a net importer of crude oil.



AIR FORCE

General Inflation

The Pentagon has said it will cut its ranks of nearly 1,000 generals and admirals by 10%, but that did not stop the Air Force from promoting 39 colonels to brigadier generals in one recent fell swoop. The flying service has the highest ratio of generals to uniformed personnel: about 1 to 1,000. That compares with the Navy's 1 to 1,279 sailors, the Army's 1 to 1,808 soldiers and 1 to 2,350 for the Marines.



NUMBER

739,853

Number of sex offenders registered in the U.S. and its territories in 2011, according to the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children

Where the gift of giving got nasty

SAN LEANDRO, CALIF.

A gunman shot a man who refused to hand over his purchases in a parking lot

BUCKEYE, ARIZ.

Police bloodied an alleged thief; a video of the arrest went viral

ROME, N.Y.

A stampede for smart phones left two women hospitalized

LOS ANGELES

A woman used pepper spray in the rush for Xboxes

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

A run on \$2 waffle irons sparked a hair-pulling riot

THE SHOPPING MAUL

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*Based on cumulative total return, 5 of 12 (50%), 12 of 12, 10 of 10, and 12 of 12 of the Retirement Funds for individual investors outperformed their Lipper average for the 1-, 3-, and 5-year, and since-inception periods ended 9/30/11, respectively. The Retirement 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, and Income Funds began operations on 9/30/02; the 2005, 2015, 2025, and 2035 Funds began operations on 2/29/04; the 2045 Fund began operations on 5/31/05; and the 2050 and 2055 Funds began operations on 12/31/06 (and thus do not have a 5-year performance history). (Source for data: Lipper Inc.)

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IRAD80362

Obama's Boldness Rap

Did the President really miss an early chance to go big on deficit reduction?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

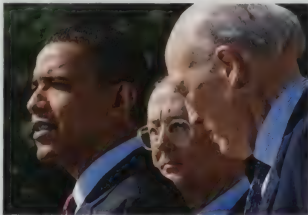
FORMER WYOMING SENATOR ALAN Simpson is a hard-charging High Plains octogenarian who has never wasted much time choosing his words. So if you ask him what would have happened had President Obama championed the \$4 trillion deficit-reduction plan that Simpson co-authored in 2010, he does not hesitate to answer: "He would have been torn to shreds."

And yet Simpson still would have preferred that the President do more. His co-author, Erskine Bowles, a Democratic former chief of staff for Bill Clinton, voices a similar sentiment. "I was surprised and disappointed," Bowles says, that the proposal "didn't get more focus."

The so-called Simpson-Bowles commission has become the subject of an unusually bitter grudge match in Washington about whether Obama dropped the ball a year ago. The commission was created by Obama to make what he called the "tough choices necessary to solve our fiscal problems." It earned bipartisan support from conservative Senator Tom Coburn and liberal Senator Dick Durbin, even though it proposed to cut deeply into defense, Medicare and Social Security and raise \$1 trillion in taxes. But after the plan was published on a White House website last December, Obama never even held an event to herald it. "Bill Clinton would have embraced it," Simpson says. "That's the difference in it." Clinton told Obama as much at the time in private, says one source familiar with their conversation.

The idea that Obama ran away from his own commission has gained currency among a crowd of moderate political players, including Senators from both parties, Thomas Friedman of the New York Times and billionaire investor and Obama ally Warren Buffett, who has called the shelving of Simpson-Bowles

"an absolute tragedy." Many of Obama's critics seem to share a common belief: the President was too cautious to recognize the extraordinary moment that presented itself last winter, a make-or-break pivot that, looking back on it now, they argue, called not for tactical calculation but defining leadership. "He created Simpson-Bowles," says David Walker, a deficit hawk who was appointed by Clinton as the U.S. Comptroller General and



Presidential backing Bowles, center, and Simpson with Obama

now works to raise public awareness of the growing debt. "He's chief executive officer of the United States. He has a disproportionate obligation to lead." Unfortunately for Obama, this line of complaint dovetails with the Republican argument that Obama is too academic and too antibusiness to lead in a time of economic crisis.

White House officials say all this talk rewrites history. They point out, accurately, that House Republican leaders were unanimous in their opposition to the plan and say a presidential embrace of Simpson-Bowles would have sunk its chances. "You would just have seen the hardening of Republicans that much sooner," says one exasperated senior

Administration official. "There is a strong element in the Republican Party that will oppose anything the President proposes," says Durbin, who adds that the President worried at the time that Simpson-Bowles would be demonized like Obamacare.

Obama did quietly support the broad outlines of the plan, though he was at best publicly guarded with his words. "My goal here is to actually solve the problem," Obama said at a February press conference, when asked why he did not embrace Simpson-Bowles. "It's not to get a good headline on the first day." Months later, he would put forward his own proposal—similar in structure, though smaller in size—first in private negotiations with House Speaker John Boehner and later in public in September. His hope was always

to get a backroom bipartisan agreement—"Getting into that boat at the same time, so it doesn't tip over," he said. That never happened. Once again Obama found himself expressing surprise at the hard-line stances of Republicans, saying he had expected a greater willingness to compromise.

But when even some of your allies find your performance underwhelming, it may not matter who has history on their

side. "I don't think there is a sense in the Congress or the country that the President gave high priority and significant leadership to reducing the deficit," says Alice Rivlin, the former top budget official for Clinton and a member of the commission. Perhaps Obama's biggest mistake, she says, was failing to connect the concepts of short-term stimulus and long-term deficit reduction from the beginning of his presidency.

Of course, neither party has done that, and with a brutal election season looming, there is little prospect for debt reduction for another year at least. "Grab on to your shorts and hang on tight, you young guys," Simpson says, hinting that things will get worse before they get better. ■



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Economy

Bad Deal. A judge slams a settlement between Washington and Wall Street

WHEN U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE JED RAKOFF REJECTED A \$285 MILLION settlement between the Securities and Exchange Commission and Citigroup on Nov. 28, he effectively marched out of the federal courthouse on Foley Square and took his place as the most powerful protester in Zuccotti Park. In a blunt court order, Rakoff broke with decades of judicial deference to the feds and suggested that regulators were enabling Wall Street's efforts to hide allegedly "knowing and fraudulent" acts from the public. While the decision's long-term effects depend on the case's future in the courts, it could immediately impose new standards of accountability and disclosure on an often too cozy system of financial oversight.

The case is a litmus test of Wall Street's responsibility for the Great Recession. When the housing bubble began to burst in 2007, Citigroup told potential investors that \$1 billion worth of mortgage-backed securities it was selling were independently verified money-makers when in fact the bank's filings showed it had handpicked many of the assets and thought they were going to lose money, according to SEC allegations filed with Rakoff. Citigroup bet against the assets it had dumped, making \$160 million, while investors who bought them lost \$700 million, according to the SEC. The SEC got Citigroup to agree to return the \$160 million to investors with \$30 million interest and accept a penalty of \$95 million. In return, it let Citigroup avoid accepting or denying wrongdoing (though Citigroup contested the allegations in court). Citigroup could deduct the \$190 million from its taxes. The SEC's director of enforcement, Robert Khuzami, says pursuing a trial instead of settling "would divert resources away from the investigation of other frauds."

Not everyone thinks that would be bad. Congressional Republicans have proposed reducing the fees paid by Wall Street firms to fund SEC enforcement. Democrats

and some Republicans, like George W. Bush's first SEC chairman, Harvey Pitt, say the problem isn't too much funding; it's too little. "The SEC has been doing a phenomenal job," says Pitt, despite being "woefully undermanned and underfunded." Rakoff argues that transparency is the real issue. Some of the SEC charges against Citigroup were "tantamount to an allegation of knowing and fraudulent intent," he wrote, yet the agency "chose to charge Citigroup only with negligence." By refusing to provide evidence to support that decision, he says, the SEC risks rendering the courts "worse than mindless" and a potential "engine of oppression." The SEC or Citigroup could challenge Rakoff and appeal his ruling. More likely, they'll try to rework their deal to meet his new, higher standards of public disclosure. —MASSIMO CALABRESI

Rakoff called the \$95 million penalty "pocket change" for Citigroup



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Change in price from year before



Sources: Bank of America Merrill Lynch, Bureau of Labor Statistics

\$5.0 billion

Amount that AMR has lost in the past four years

79%

Percentage decrease in AMR's stock price this year

\$29.6 billion

Amount of debt AMR reported as of Sept. 30

AIRLINES

American Bankruptcy

Why that's good news for travelers

Just weeks before one of the busiest travel times of the year, American Airlines' parent company, AMR, filed for bankruptcy protection. But don't worry: plans to head home for the holidays aren't likely to be interrupted. We might even see some airfare bargains in 2012.

Until late November, American was the only remaining major airline to have avoided Chapter 11 in recent years. Its main competitors, Delta and United, had used bankruptcy to save billions of dollars, renegotiate labor contracts and, with the help of mergers, return to profitability. American, on the other hand, has lost money in all but two quarters in the past four years, for a total of nearly \$5 billion in red ink.

If the previous bankruptcies are a guide, American is unlikely to significantly cut routes or raise fares. Rick Seaney, a co-founder and the CEO of FareCompare.com, expects additional bonus programs from American to hang on to elite travelers. Some flyers could see a decrease in fares in American's secondary markets—like Boston, Las Vegas and Orlando—where the airline will try to lure passengers with more competitive prices. The airline may also be the last to raise prices, something to consider when shopping for flights next year. Still, don't expect any massive ticket-price cuts. Analysts expect American to stick around, and the last thing a bankrupt company wants to seem is desperate. —JOSH SANBURN

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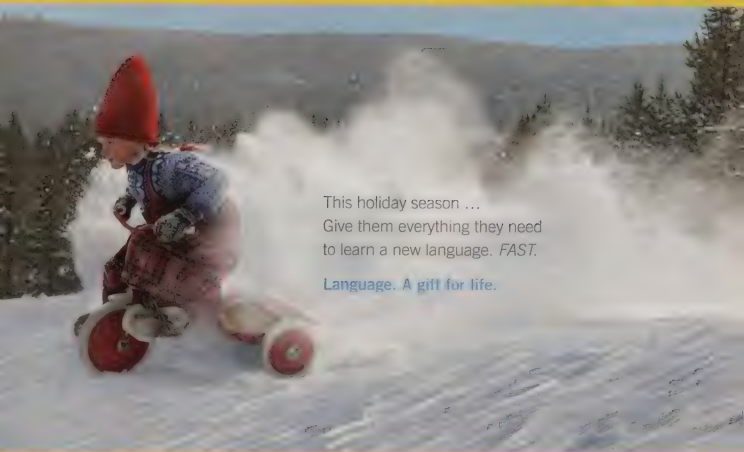


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Health&Science

The Chemical Within. BPA is everywhere. Is it dangerous? We don't really know

By Bryan Walsh

THANKS TO MODERN MEDICINE, WE HAVE AN amazingly precise picture of what's inside our bodies—and one of those things is the chemical bisphenol-A (BPA). How common is BPA?

A survey by federal scientists found that 93% of Americans have at least trace amounts of it in their bodies. That makes sense. BPA is virtually everywhere, especially in many plastics and in liners for nearly all food and beverage cans.

A new study in the *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)* underscores just how easy it is to raise your BPA levels without even knowing it. Researchers had subjects eat either soup made from fresh vegetables or canned vegetable soup each day for five days. After a two-day pause, the researchers had the groups switch roles. After eating fresh soup for five days, the subjects had BPA levels that were about normal, but after they ate canned soup, their BPA levels increased by more than 1,200%. Those results represent some of the highest BPA levels recorded outside factories where the chemical is used. "We were surprised," says Jenny Carwile, lead author of the study and a Harvard University epidemiologist. "This is really big."

Results like these are worrying to many researchers because BPA—an endocrine-disrupting compound that can interfere with hormones—has been linked to heart disease, diabetes and obesity, as well as potential problems in fetal development and in young children. Such studies have prompted Canada and Europe to ban BPA from baby bottles, a step many manufacturers of children's products have taken independently in the U.S. The Food and Drug Administration last year expressed "some concern" about the potential effects of BPA—midlevel on its scale of alarm.

The FDA's cautious position is not entirely

unwarranted, since the science on BPA is still far from clear. Industry groups like the American Chemistry Council point to hundreds of studies that show BPA has no ill effects, and a panel of experts from the World Health Organization agreed last year that it was premature to take steps to ban the chemical. What's more, BPA doesn't stay in the body very long, leaving via urine in a matter of hours. Stop exposing yourself to the chemical, and you should become BPA-free.

Of course, as the *JAMA* study shows, that's easier said than done. The challenge for scientists is to get a better fix on how dangerous BPA is; for consumers, it's to find out which products contain the stuff—and to demand that information from manufacturers—so they can avoid it if they choose. ■



CHEMICALS

Sources of BPA

The chemical is nearly ubiquitous, which makes avoiding it so difficult. It's found in:

The lining of some aluminum cans



Cashier receipt paper



Plastic water bottles



Pizza boxes



Soda cans



Toilet paper



Dental sealants



Some wine bottles



VITAL SIGNS

93%

Percentage of Americans who have a detectable amount of BPA in their bodies, according to the Centers for Disease Control

8 billion

Pounds of BPA produced worldwide each year

1,221%

Percentage increase in BPA levels among study subjects who consumed canned soup—a source of BPA—for five days

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Milestones



DIED
Tom Wicker
 By Howell Raines

I first saw Tom Wicker in 1976, sitting beside Scotty Reston, a former executive editor of the New York *Times*, in a coach on Jimmy Carter's campaign train, and I thought, "Yes, this is what newspapermen are supposed to look like." Even sitting, Tom, big and bushy-haired in his Oxford cloth shirt and summer sport coat, towered over Scotty, impishly resplendent in, of all things, a crisply pressed safari jacket. They were lions of that last splendid autumnal flowering of the great American newspapers. So faintly that one could deny hearing it, the bell was tolling, on that morning after Carter's nomination, for their era of liberal, public interest journalism.

Tom, who died Nov. 25 at 85, was famously one of "Scotty's boys" at the *Times*, and in the talented group that included Max Frankel and Tony Lewis, he was the one who stood closest to his heart. Scotty was a Midwesterner with a soft spot for hungry Southerners. Tom was the beau ideal of the Deep South's young reporters. He was a political intellectual with a great heart, a man who kept one foot in the world of letters, who respected traditional journalism but injected it with a liberating dose of moral advocacy. Columnist, JFK assassination reporter, novelist, he was to Southern journalism what Pete Hamill was to New York newspapering. He was, ever and always, an enemy of racism who didn't tone down his Carolina drawl in the salons of Georgetown and the Upper East Side. Tom and his peers defined the sensibility of the paper for many of us who came after them on the *Times*.

Raines is a former executive editor of the New York *Times*

DIED
Odumegwu Ojukwu

In August 1968, *TIME* described Nigeria's bloody civil war as a conflict without "any solution short of wholesale slaughter." The cover that week featured a reluctant revolutionary named Odumegwu Ojukwu. Ojukwu, who died Nov. 26 at 78, was military governor of the country's oil-rich eastern region, home of the largely Christian Ibo tribe, when an Ibo-led coup overthrew Nigeria's government, leading to bloody pogroms against Ibos in the Muslim north. In response, Ojukwu led his region to secession, creating the short-lived Republic of Biafra. In the war that followed, a million people died, mostly from starvation: *TIME* described Ibo children with "distended bellies and matchstick limbs." Ojukwu fled in 1970; he later returned to a pardon and a country that still bears the scars of sectarian hatred.
 —NATE RAWLINGS



DIED
Ken Russell

He believed that nothing succeeds like excess. This grand and gaudy English director, who died Nov. 27 at 84 after a series of strokes, created surrealistic biopics: studies of composers (Delius, Tchaikovsky, Liszt) that attached gossipy narratives to a fevered visual palette. No one else brought high art so deliciously low. He made hits from D.H. Lawrence's *Women in Love* (1969) and the *Who's Tommy* (1975) and put sci-fi on peyote in *Altered States* (1980). His possessed-nun movie *The Devils* (1971) so appalled Catholics that there's no uncut version on DVD in the U.S. His son said Russell died with a smile on his face. No wonder: the old shockmeister never lost his talent to abuse.

—RICHARD CORLISS

DIED
 Lana Peters, 85, formerly Svetlana Stalina, daughter of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin: she defected to the U.S. in 1967 but returned briefly to the U.S.S.R. in 1984.

SENTENCED
 Conrad Murray, personal physician to Michael Jackson, to four years in prison for involuntary manslaughter linked to Jackson's death; Murray will likely serve two years.

HIRED
 Urban Meyer, as the head football coach at Ohio State;



Meyer, who led the University of Florida to two national championships, takes over the tainted Buckeyes after a scandal that led to longtime coach Jim Tressel's resignation.

DIED
 Vasily Alekseyev, 69; the Soviet weight lifter known as the world's strongest man won two Olympic gold medals and set 80 world records as a superheavyweight.

DETERMINED
 By a Norwegian court, that Anders Breivik, who killed 77 people in a July rampage, is insane; he will likely avoid prison and be committed to a psychiatric institution.

DIED
 Shelagh Delaney, 72, British playwright whose 1960 play *A Taste of Honey* pushed boundaries with interracial romance and a warmly drawn gay character.

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Rana Foroohar



The Case for Inflation

Our 1970s fears still loom large, but higher growth may be worth higher prices

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES from Newt Gingrich to Rick Perry promise to fire Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke, apparently for doing too much to save the U.S. economy since the financial crisis. Most everyone else is wishing he'd do more. In fact, there's a growing chorus of economic-policy wonks of all stripes who would like to see the Fed forget its two-tier mandate to keep inflation low and employment high and instead boost growth at all costs—even at the risk of higher inflation.

Worries about inflation are a key reason the Fed hasn't launched another round of quantitative easing to lower interest rates longer-term or bought up more assets or very clearly stated that it will do whatever it takes for as long as it takes to get the economy back on track. The fear is that since it's so difficult to tell where we are in an economic cycle, the Fed could somehow overjuice the economy, triggering the kind of runaway double-digit inflation the U.S. experienced in the 1970s. If coupled with less-than-stellar growth, that could conceivably result in stagflation of the sort that evokes memories of gas lines, Jimmy Carter and the theme song from *Good Times*.

But it's a measure of how much we tend to fight the latest economic war that inflation is a big worry at a time when it's barely noticeable; in the U.S., core consumer prices are rising at about 2.4% annually. That's a tiny bit higher than the informal Fed aim of about 2.1%, but many experts feel that that target, which has remained unchanged for 30 years, is outdated. What's more, there's little evidence that inflation will spike further. The latest monthly data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development actually showed a small

decline in inflation in the U.S., as in many other rich countries. No wonder—it's hard for prices to increase when people don't have money to spend.

One of the reasons the inflation bugaboo still looms large is that on the surface, there are a number of similarities between the inflationary '70s and today: high unemployment, slow growth, loose monetary policy and nosebleed energy prices. But look deeper and it's clear that the funda-



mentals of the economy are quite different now. For starters, unemployment hit 8.5% for only one year in the 1970s. Today, we've had three years of 9% unemployment, with no respite in sight. Back then, the Fed's easy money was in part an overreaction to a temporary oil shock rather than an emergency effort to combat a once-in-75-years financial crisis. Politics played a part too. There are some economists, like Ken Rogoff, who believe Richard Nixon made the situation worse by pushing then Fed chair Arthur Burns to goose the economy earlier and for longer than he should have. Nixon's reason: to improve his re-election prospects. In one famous exchange, Tricky

Dick joked with Burns about "the myth of the autonomous Fed."

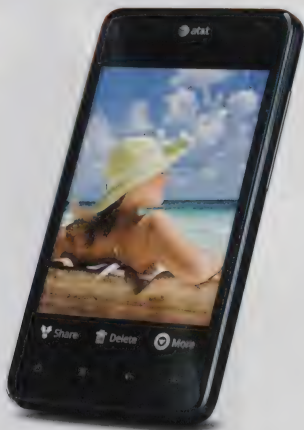
Thankfully (at least to some of us), the Fed today is much more independent than it was then. Unfortunately, the current economy is much closer to that of the 1930s than to that of the 1970s. The U.S. is facing a huge debt overhang, long-term high unemployment and serious political unrest. That's why experts on both sides of the political spectrum have supported a new kind of Fed mandate, one in which the central bank focuses not on an inflation target but on keeping nominal GDP growth high. Former chair of the Council of Economic Advisers Christina Romer wrote an editorial recently urging Bernanke to do just that. Romney adviser and conservative economist Greg Mankiw has supported the idea in past academic papers.

Nominal GDP (NGDP) targeting, as it's known in wonkdom, was actually discussed—and rejected—during the latest Fed meeting, at the beginning of November, in part because Fed governors worried that politicians wouldn't have the stomach to stick to the growth program once inflation started rising. But the very fact that it was pored over is big news; topics like this don't get discussed at Fed meetings unless they are being taken pretty seriously. Already Chicago Fed president Charles Evans has advocated a short-term rise in inflation.

Critics of NGDP targeting say the growth target itself might become a political football. Yet by setting such a target, the Fed could provide the sort of stability that markets have been looking for since the financial crisis. Rather than a one-off money dump that would encourage speculative bubbles, it would be a promise that central bankers would bring out the big guns and fire them until the war is won or at least until it's really clear that they can do no more. It would also bring the action around economic recovery back to some one who can actually act—Bernanke. As the pre-election sniping continues, it's clear nobody else in Washington will. ■

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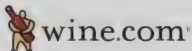
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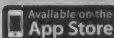


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Fareed Zakaria



Friends Without Benefits

It's time to say what we already know—
America's Pakistan policy isn't working

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND A COUNTRY ON the planet that is more anti-American than Pakistan. In a Pew survey this year, only 12% of Pakistanis expressed a favorable view of the U.S. That number has probably dipped even lower in the wake of the NATO air attack on a Pakistani army post that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan's leaders are only slightly better disposed since they continue to support militias in Afghanistan that wage war on Americans. Populist rage and official duplicity have built up even though over the past decade, Washington has lavished Pakistan's government with praise and aid, the latter totaling \$20 billion. It is time to recognize that the U.S.'s Pakistan policy is just not working. I write this as someone who has consistently supported engaging with the Pakistani government as the best of bad options. But the evidence that this engagement is working is thin—and gets thinner with every passing month.

Supporting Islamabad has been premised on two arguments. The first is that if we don't, the Pakistani government could collapse and the country's nuclear weapons could fall into the wrong hands, perhaps even ending up with al Qaeda. This misunderstands the problem. Pakistan is not Somalia. It has been ruled by a professional military for most of its independent existence, even when there has been a nominally civilian government in charge—as there is today. There have been no Gaddafi-esque colonels' coups in Pakistan; instead, the entire military, with its command chain intact, has moved to replace the civilian government. The military remains widely admired as a national institution that works.

The second argument is the one given by businesses when they pay off the Ma-

fia: we need to keep these guys as allies, or else they will become enemies. The problem with this protection racket is that it isn't working. Admiral Mike Mullen finally said publicly what insiders have said privately for years: Pakistan's army, despite getting over a quarter of its budget from Washington, funds and arms the most deadly terrorist group in South Asia.

In a forthcoming essay in *Foreign Affairs*, Stephen Krasner, a Stanford pro-



fessor who was a senior State Department official under George W. Bush, makes the important point that Pakistan's behavior is not a product of weakness or irrationality. It is part of a deliberate strategy to keep Afghanistan weak and India off balance. Krasner advocates cutting off all aid to the military until it changes course and delivers on a genuine antiterrorism strategy. That would be worth trying, but a larger shift needs to take place to get real results.

The Pakistani military holds to its worldview out of an ideological conviction that combines 19th century realpolitik with politicized Islam. But it also has a strong bureaucratic interest in regional friction. After all, with a

win-win scenario in which peace with India results in prosperity for the region, why would Pakistan need a vast military that sucks up almost a quarter of the federal budget? The country's military would end up looking like India's—noninfluential, nonpolitical and well contained within the larger society.

Pakistan needs a civilian conception of its national interest. It can get one only from a flourishing civilian government. That was the basic thrust of the memo that Pakistan's former ambassador to Washington, Husain Haqqani, is alleged to have written. Haqqani's ouster is part of a long pattern in which the military has removed anyone who proposed a new course for the country's foreign policy. Recall that the coup that ousted the previous civilian government took place because then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif enraged the military by attempting to make peace with India. In recent days, the military has been building opposition to the effort of President Asif Ali Zardari's government to start trade with India.

There is a fundamental tension in U.S. policy toward Pakistan. We want a more democratic country, but we also want a government that can deliver cooperation on the ground. In practice, we always choose the latter, which means we cozy up to the military and overlook its destruction of democracy. The only way to get real cooperation is by helping Pakistan move from being a military state to being a more normal country. If Washington continues to bolster Pakistan's de facto regime, we will get a dysfunctional nation where the public—fed propaganda by the military establishment—vents its anger at Washington.

The Arab Spring holds key lessons. When Washington props up a dictatorship because it needs foreign policy support, it is building up wellsprings of poison and anti-Americanism within society that, one day, will erupt. ■





NATION

WHERE IS THE LOVE?

Mitt Romney is a better candidate than in 2008. So why can't he make Republican hearts flutter?

BY JOE KLEIN

Critique them:
With Romney's candidacy,
Republicans are making a
choice among many
GOP faithful

Photograph by
Brooks Kraft for TIME

AMONG THE HALLOWED traditions of latter-day presidential politics is the full-body agripander in the Iowa cornfields. Every four years, the local populace demands obeisance to extravagant crop and ethanol subsidies, and the presidential hopefuls inevitably respond with paeans to the family farm and renewable energy—even though such subsidies have long been shown to be boondoggles of the highest order.

And so I was interested to see how Mitt Romney would respond to a roomful of western-Iowa business folks in the thriving town of Treynor recently. In similar circumstances four years ago, Romney's agripandering had been effulgent and shameless. This time was different. Rick Schwark, an ethanol refiner, was the first of several corn-related pleaders, and he wasn't shy: "Ethanol is an American success story," he began, protesting the imminent reduction of the \$6 billion subsidy his industry gets, "but there has been a lot of misinformation. Ethanol has created over 400,000 jobs."

Romney listened and answered carefully. He talked about the importance of renewable fuels. He talked about the need for energy independence. He talked about his past support for ethanol subsidies as a way to get the industry off the ground. "But I've indicated that the subsidies shouldn't go on forever," he concluded, "and this one will end in December."

He had wielded the scalpel so delicately, after so much pro-business anesthesia, that some of those in the room weren't quite sure that Romney had actually excised their beloved subsidy. Kevin Ross, the president of the Iowa Corn Growers Association, tried the question once more, and Romney affably shot him down. "I'll take a close look at it, but I'm not running for office based on making promises of handing out money," he said. "I'm enough of a business guy to take a look at the books and see what's needed and what isn't." Ethanol clearly wasn't.

Twice more the subject was broached, and twice more Romney gently demurred. "That took a lot of [walnuts]," said Ward Chambers, a cardiologist with an arid sense of humor. "But he was able to deliver the bad news in a way that was palatable to

the businesspeople in the room. That was very smart politics."

Those are not phrases that have often been associated with Mitt Romney in the past: *smart politics* and *able to deliver bad news*. They are still not an entirely comfortable fit, but one modification in Rom-

His suddenly tough position on illegal immigration has come in handy now that Newt Gingrich has staked a claim for moderation on the issue



ney's second campaign for the presidency has been his willingness, at times, to tell Republican audiences things they don't exactly want to hear. He swaddles these disappointments in business expertise, attacks on Barack Obama (some justified, others fantasized) and a brisk, pleasant manner.

In pure political-performance terms, this has made Romney a much stronger candidate than he was four years ago. He seems to have discovered an ancient, buried truth of American politics: you gain credibility—you seem more real—if you don't try to please all of the people all of the time. As with everything else Romney does, though, courage is carefully calculated, with an eye to a general-election campaign against Obama. In these straitened times, ethanol subsidies have passed their sell-by date.



Slow but steady wins the race?
Romney, in New Hampshire in July,
has done well in debates while his
rivals have boomed and busted

rivals, Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania.

But these problems pale in comparison with his brazen flip-floppery on issues large and small. Sometimes a flip is justified, as with Romney's position on ethanol. But all too often his switchbacks have been so expedient as to make you wonder how stupid, or shortsighted, he thinks the electorate is. His suddenly tough position on illegal immigration this year was a convenient way to go after Rick Perry, who he assumed would be his prime rival for the nomination, and it has come in handy again now that the surging Newt Gingrich has staked a claim for moderation on the issue. (He's also gone after Gingrich as "a career politician," another attack he used against Perry.) "Your core values are tied directly to the policy decisions that you've made," says his one moderate opponent, former governor Jon Huntsman of Utah. "When you've been on both sides—sometimes on three sides—of every issue, people begin to wonder who you really are. They simply will not elect someone they don't trust."

At a town meeting in Sioux City, just before his visit to Treynor, Romney strolled gracefully through a minefield of hard-core Republican questions without offering much red meat to the assembled carnivores. Asked about a constitutional amendment on abortion, he said he thought such issues should be left to the states. "Would you abolish the Internal Revenue Service?" He didn't say no but slid easily into a crisp outline of what he would do: reform the tax code, bringing down marginal rates, and offer tax relief for families with incomes under \$200,000.

"What are you going to do about czars?" a woman asked, repeating a Glenn Beck trope about special envoys and advisers whom Obama has added to his staff—a sure sign of creeping socialism (although many of them are now gone). Romney seemed confused by the question and asked the woman what she meant by czars. "I thought at first you were talking about the SARS virus," he said, attempting a joke, perhaps, though no one laughed. He proceeded to answer her question substantively. He believed there was a need for

Unfortunately, all Romney's calculations, all the improvements in his stump and debate performances—all of it has left him in the same old place, uninspiring to moderates and untrustworthy to conservatives, an unloved, forlorn front runner. He maintains the support of 20% of Republicans, more or less, but the vast majority of Romney's potential supporters have suffered a series of malarial fevers and chills, warming and cooling on his opponents, desperate to find a candidate to take his place.

We are near the endgame of the Republican nominating race now. The Iowa caucuses will be held on Jan. 3, the New Hampshire primary a week later. These contests become extremely intense in their final days; it is impossible to skate through without a thorough public frisk

ing. Romney was found wanting in the final days four years ago, after spending about \$10 million in Iowa. He was then dispatched by John McCain in New Hampshire. Most experts assume he'll do better this time against a weaker field, but many of the grassroots Republicans I've talked to have the same old suspicions about him. He's too rich, too polished—he's an elitist in a party that has become home to disaffected white, working-class voters. He's a Mormon, which usually goes unspoken but is a matter of real mistrust for many Evangelical Christian voters. He's too moderate. He passed an individual-mandate health care plan in Massachusetts and favored the bank bailouts in 2008, "which takes two of our best issues against Obama off the table if he's the nominee," says one of his

special envoys to deal with overseas diplomatic problems, but having special White House assistants "who manage Cabinet posts doesn't make a lot of sense."

The answer was deft but unsatisfying. Romney seemed not to recognize the Tea Party code: *czars* is fighting jargon, an anti-Obama rant was being requested, and Romney failed to deliver. The SARS response sent a subliminal message to the base: He isn't really one of us. "He won me over a little bit," a conservative activist named Linda Holub told me after the Sioux City meeting. "But he's still not my candidate. I wonder about his core convictions."

A Constant Opacity

DURING ONE OF THE INNUMERABLE, but thoroughly entertaining, Republican debates recently, the CNBC moderator John Harwood asked Romney to defend his multiple, sequential, conflicting positions on the auto bailout. Romney had asked, "Where is Washington?" in 2008, then opposed the Obama bailout, then—when the bailout succeeded—said Obama had pursued the "managed bankruptcy" that he had favored all along. Romney tried, unsuccessfully, to extricate himself from the question, but Harwood persisted, and Romney launched into a much discussed evasion: "I think people understand that I'm a man of steadiness and constancy," he began, citing his 42-year marriage, his Mormon faith and the 25 years he spent at one company, Bain Capital. And then he turned it into an attack: "I think it is outrageous the Obama campaign continues to push this idea."

Romney neglected to mention one additional area of constancy: in his 17-year public career, he has been consistently opaque. Indeed, he has always campaigned as something he probably is not. When he ran for Senator and then governor in Massachusetts, he pretended to be more liberal than he probably was on social issues like abortion and gay rights. Running for President, he has pretended to be more conservative than he actually is on a variety of issues—taxes, health care, the environment, immigration. His one term as governor of Massachusetts probably offers the truest portrait of what he'd be like as President, but he has disavowed his greatest achievement—universal health care—and his interest in



1994

MORE CONSERVATIVE

MORE LIBERAL

Mitt-igating. The ebb and flow of Romney's conservative credentials

CAP AND TRADE

As governor, supported developing a cap-and-trade pact for the Northeast

GAY RIGHTS

In 1994, backed "full equality" and open, "honest" military service

GUN CONTROL

Supported assault weapon bans and waiting periods early in his career

ABORTION

Ran for Senate as a pro-choice candidate and backed *Roe v. Wade*



Said he refused to accept the pro-life or pro-choice label

Loses 1994 U.S. Senate race to Ted Kennedy

being governor waned dramatically as he began to focus on the presidency. "They talk about politicians getting Potomac fever," says Stephen Crosby, dean of the McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies at UMass Boston. "Romney got Potomac Ebola virus."

The impression that Romney is either furtive or phony in the service of this ambition has been exacerbated by

the campaign he has chosen to run in 2011. It is the least accessible presidential campaign in memory. Chris Wallace of Fox News recently complained that Romney had not appeared on any of the Sunday-morning talk shows in nearly 20 months. He has allowed himself to be questioned by the reliable Sean Hannity, but he has not agreed to cooperate with any potentially tough, or even balanced, mainstream-media stories about him, including this one. This evasiveness might have become more of an issue if it weren't for two things: the near weekly schedule of debates has given Romney the appearance of accessibility, and the slapstick haplessness of his opponents has proved to be a riveting diversion.

The sideshow has worked to Romney's tremendous advantage. That he's an excellent debater hasn't hurt either. It has made

But the question always remains: Who is he really? Do we have any clues as to what he actually believes?



abortion over the past decade. I suspect that Romney's reversion to his original Mormon rectitude, on this and other social issues, may not have been purely a matter of political expediency. It may also have been something of a relief, after his clumsy attempts to please his more liberal constituents in Massachusetts. After all, he had chosen to become part of the Mormon-church hierarchy. (Huntsman, by contrast, didn't.) He must have felt comfortable with its conservative tenets—even if, according to recent accounts, he slowly came to terms with the concept of feminism... although his present roster of advisers is top-heavy with men.

A Moderate Record

IF THE CURRENT REPUBLICAN ORTHODOXY on social issues seems a natural fit for Romney, the party's rightward rush on issues of governance is a markedly less comfortable proposition for him. Romney began to get interested in politics at a moment of centrist creativity—the start of the 1990s. There was a new synergy on policy issues among moderate Democrats (led by Bill Clinton) and so-called Empowerment Republicans (led by Gingrich, amazingly enough). There were fierce differences on some issues, like taxes. But there was a surprising agreement on a new formula for domestic policy: the use of conservative means, like market incentives, to achieve liberal ends. Some of the best ideas were born in the Republican Party and adopted, with modifications, by the Democrats: a cap-and-trade system to control carbon emissions, an individual mandate and progressive government subsidies to create universal health insurance, the earned-income tax credit to bolster the paychecks of the working poor. Romney seemed to fit very neatly into this new, dynamic centrism as governor of Massachusetts.

Michael Brown, a co-founder of City Year, an excellent national-service program, says Romney was one of his strongest supporters even before he entered politics. "In 1991, we invited all the presidential candidates to come and talk," Brown recalls. "After Bill Clinton's talk, he and Romney and I had dinner, and I remember Romney saying to him, 'If you become President, you really should take this program national.'" Later, when Romney was governor, City Year—by then part of AmeriCorps—was in danger

him seem constant and competent by comparison, the most presidential of the bunch. But the question always remains: Who is he really? Do we have any clues as to what he actually believes?

Sifting through the Romney policy record, in an attempt to find patterns and answers, is an act of geology. There are sedimentary layers on issues like abortion, climate change, health care, gun control—almost any issue you can imagine. His shifts are usually artful and nuanced, although sometimes they can be brutally abrupt and painfully expedient, as with immigration, or assault-weapon bans, which he supported until his 2008 presidential campaign. It is often fascinating to watch Romney's mind at work as he flips his flops. Abortion is a classic case. His first public position was itself a flip-flop: running for the Senate in 1994, he an-

nounced that he was personally opposed to abortion but that "I do not impose my beliefs on other people." Previously, as a Mormon bishop, he had gone so far as to visit a woman in the hospital to try to dissuade her from having an abortion, a story recently recounted in both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

He was still sort of pro-choice when he ran for governor in 2002, but he started flopping his flip midterm as the dire Potomac virus set in; you can't be pro-choice in today's Republican Party. Romney later claimed that he saw the light on Nov. 9, 2004, when he had a long conversation with a stem-cell researcher. This is not entirely implausible: advances in biology, and especially sonogram technology—making it possible to see inside the womb—have caused a fair number of Americans to modify their positions on

of having its funding cut off by the Bush Administration. "We asked Romney if he'd join with Ed Rendell [of Pennsylvania] to author a letter asking for the funding to be restored. He said, 'I'd be happy to do it,' and eventually they got 41 other governors to sign on."

AmeriCorps is precisely the sort of government program that Republicans, including Romney, have been railing against, although Romney hasn't mentioned it specifically. (He does want to cut off the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and Amtrak, among others.) Indeed, Romney is far more careful about the evisceration of government than his Republican opponents. He doesn't want to close the departments of Education or Energy; he doesn't want to privatize Social Security, just raise the retirement age; he doesn't want to eliminate the capital gains tax, except for people earning less than \$200,000; he doesn't want to eliminate the corporate tax, just reduce it to 25%. His proposed Medicare reform is more drastic, essentially a form of privatization, although he would give the elderly the option of staying in the current system, which is a "public option" by any other name.

The Lawn Sprinkler

BUT ROMNEY IS MORE THAN THE SUM of his inclinations, and flip-flops, on public-policy issues. He has a distinct ethos, which is indeed consistent. He is, at his core, a businessman, but of a particular sort: a turnaround artist, a consultant who takes control of a company, flushes out its inefficiencies and then sells it at a profit. And he is at his most convincing as a candidate when he talks about applying some of those principles to government. "Today, nine federal agencies run 47 different federal worker-retraining programs at a cost of \$18 billion a year," he said in a recent speech. "I will send those workforce-training dollars back to the states, empowering them to retrain workers in ways that fit the needs of their respective economies."

Romney made a fortune finding efficiencies like that. He was a master at creative destruction, using the skills he'd learned as a management consultant to take sleepy companies and make them sleek. He was at the forefront of the business revolution of the 1980s, when debt replaced equity as the primary tool to raise capital. A great deal of good came of this,



Sign of strength The former Bay State governor's biggest asset may be that he ran once before

and Romney isn't shy about recounting his success stories—the creation of Staples, the office-supply chain, for example. But there was a significant downside to this revolution as well, and Ted Kennedy ran devastating television ads during the 1994 Senate campaign about the jobs lost in Romney restructurings. In sum, the form of capitalism that Romney practiced helped revive the U.S. corporate sector in the 1980s and made it more efficient in the

He speaks softly but very quickly, almost too quickly. He is always in motion, a moving target, a turnaround artist in more ways than one

short term but left it less likely to produce new products and technologies in the long term—with the exception of Wall Street, where phenomenal salaries lured the smartest young Americans to create fabulous new computerized gambling devices with, as former Fed chairman Paul Volcker has noted, no redeeming social value.

Romney has been particularly vague about the Wall Street crash and the causes of the Great Recession. His 150-page economic plan acknowledges that financial regulation is necessary, but he doesn't specify which kind. And this is where his refusal to be interviewed is most frustrating: No one has asked Romney to evaluate the downside of the capitalism he practiced. No one has asked him how he'd turn the fierce bias toward short-term profit into a more patient, productive, labor intensive system. These are essential questions for 2012. They need to be answered slowly, carefully. Merely blaming the government is not enough (and ignoring them, as Obama has, isn't sufficient either).

Mitt Romney has a curious body language when speaking to civilians at town meetings. He moves in tiny steps, rotating to his right, then to his left, covering his entire audience like a lawn sprinkler. He speaks softly but very quickly, almost too quickly, spraying facts and policy one-liners on the crowd. It sounds more robotic than it appears; his fluency and command of facts are easy on the ears. But he is always in motion, a moving target, a turnaround artist in more ways than one. So far this year, his retooled machine has moved too subtly to be caught. His tiny movements pass for stability in a field of candidates whose mistakes are melodramatic, whose fortunes soar and plunge. This may be enough to win the nomination; it may even be enough to beat Obama. But if he's elected President, Romney will have to turn off the motor, sit down in a big chair and make some decisions—and one wonders if he'll be able to summon the courage, the uncalculated courage, that has so often been missing in his presidential campaigns. ■



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WORLD

ERDOGAN'S MOMENT

How Turkey's Prime Minister—a moderate Islamist and steadfast advocate of secular democracy—became one of the world's most influential leaders

BY BOBBY GHOSH/ISTANBUL

RED CARPETS AND HONOR guards are for garden-variety visiting politicians and monarchs: for Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Cairo put on the kind of reception usually reserved for rock stars. Turkey's Prime Minister was greeted at the airport by thousands of cheering fans, many holding aloft posters of their hero. Fusillades of flashbulbs turned night into day. Journalists thrust microphones into his face, but he was drowned out by the chanting throngs. "Erdogan! Erdogan! A real Muslim and not a coward," went one incantation. Another: "Turkey and Egypt are a single fist."

Totalitarian regimes routinely orchestrate massive, faux-spontaneous welcomes for visiting dignitaries, but the beleaguered interim administration in Cairo didn't need to rent a crowd for Erdogan: he is genuinely popular across the Arab world.

He was ranked the most admired world leader in a 2010 poll of Arabs by the University of Maryland. His profile has soared higher still since the Arab Spring: Respondents to the 2011 version of the poll, conducted in the fall, rated Turkey as having played the most constructive role in Arab events. In countries where the people have risen against old tyrants, many cite Erdogan as the kind of leader they would like to have instead.

A good politician knows how to milk his moment: Cairo was the first leg of Erdogan's triumphant mid-September sweep through the newly liberated North African states. There were tumultuous welcomes, too, in Tunis and Tripoli. The trip culminated at the U.N. General Assembly in New York City, where President Obama lauded him for showing "great leadership" in the region.

It's not every day that a U.S. President

Lofty position
Erdogan has
boosted Turkey's
reputation





Return of the Ottoman Erdogan visits Tadjura, Libya, and the mosque of Murad Agha. The Turks established a base at the city in the 16th century

and the Arab street are of one mind. But like the throngs chanting Erdogan's name (not all of them aware it is pronounced *Erd-waan*; the *g* is silent) in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, Obama is hoping that the new governments emerging from the ashes of old dictatorships will look a lot like the one the Prime Minister has built over the past eight years. Erdogan has greatly enhanced Turkey's international reputation, reined in its once omnipotent military, pursued economic policies that have trebled per capita income and for the most part maintained a pro-West stance.

He has, it is true, also displayed an autocratic streak, running roughshod over political rivals, tossing enemies into jail and intimidating the media. Critics say Erdogan's government is censoring the Internet, muzzling regulators and interfering in academic institutions. But to his admirers, these failings pale against his successes. Democratic, economically ascendant and internationally admired: as political templates go, Turkey's is pretty irresistible to people shaking off decades of

authoritarian, impoverishing rule—and to Westerners worried about what those people might do next.

But perhaps its greatest virtue, in the eyes of many, is that the Turkish model was forged by an Islamist: Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party—better known by its Turkish initials, AKP—have traditionally drawn support from the country's religious and conservative classes. For Arab Islamists, Turkey's success is proof that they can modernize their countries without breaking away from their religious moorings. Erdogan's Western admirers see it the other way around: as proof that political Islam needn't be an enemy of modernity. And if any evidence were needed that Erdogan's way leads to political success, the AKP won its third general election in June, by a landslide.

But can the Erdogan way lead Egypt, Tunisia and Libya to the political stability and economic strength Turkey now enjoys? Erdogan claims to be ambivalent whether Arab states seek to emulate his success. "If they want our help, we'll pro-

vide any assistance they need," he told TIME in an interview during his visit to New York, but "we do not have a mentality of exporting our system." Even so, he doesn't deny reaching out to the potential leaders of the Arab Spring states: "I wanted to talk to the presidential candidates, and I had the opportunity to get together with lots of people in order to grasp the situation."

His message to them: be good Muslims but make sure your constitution is, like Turkey's, secular. "Do not fear secularism, because it does not mean being an enemy of religion," he said in an interview on Egyptian TV. "I hope the new regime in Egypt will be secular." This came as a shock to some in the Muslim Brotherhood, who retorted that they didn't need lectures from the Turk. The episode was a reminder that Turkish Islamism, rooted in a secular democratic tradition, is not so easily transplanted to societies where neither secularism nor democracy is well understood. The template, says Michael Werz, a Turkey expert at the Center for American

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Progress, "can be inspirational for Arab Islamist parties, but it can't be a model."

All the same, many politicians in the Arab Spring countries are plainly modeling themselves after the Turkish leader. "Erdogan wears a business suit, but he prays in the mosque. That is something we can identify with," Essam Erian, a top leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, told me in Cairo in the summer. (There's an obvious echo in the name of the Brotherhood's new political arm: Freedom and Justice Party.) Abdelhamid Jlassi, a leader of Tunisia's Islamist Ennahda party, was just as starry-eyed when I met him in Tunis a few days later. "Erdogan speaks our language," he told me. "When he speaks, we listen."

Ennahda has since won a large plurality in Tunisia's first free elections, on Oct. 23, to form an assembly that will write a new constitution. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood is expected to do just as well in elections that began Nov. 28. Libya will probably not go to the polls until the middle of next year, but there, too, Islamist groups are tipped to be significant players. Where—and to whom—they look for inspiration could change the way the world views them.

The Ideal Islamist

FOR SOME WESTERN OBSERVERS, THE RISE of political Islam conjures up visions of extremist, reactionary states, like Iran or Afghanistan under the Taliban. That limited view informed the anxiety that greeted the AKP's 2002 election victory. Even Turkish secularists feared Erdogan would seek to undo the separation of mosque and state that was the foundation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's establishment of modern Turkey in 1923. They pointed to comments Erdogan made in the 1990s, as mayor of Istanbul, like this one: "Democracy is a tram that gets you to your destination, and then you get off." Turkey's decision not to participate in the 2003 Iraq war led to fears that Erdogan would take his country out of NATO and turn away from the West.

But the AKP's critics were wrong: Turkey didn't become another Iran. Apart from the repeal of a long-standing ban on the Islamic headscarf in universities last year, Erdogan's policies have hardly been an assault on Atatürk's secular legacy. And far from drifting away from the West, Erdogan has pushed harder than his predecessors for the ultimate Western endorsement: admission to the European Union, whose repeated cold-shouldering of Ankara says more about European

hang-ups than Turkey's qualifications. Erdogan tells *TIME* he is "still determined" to pursue E.U. membership but can't help smiling at the irony that his country, once described as "the sick man of Europe," is now economically ascendant, while many members of the club that won't admit him are all but bankrupt.

More Than Zero Problems

ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER COMING TO power in 2002, the AKP government reached out to Jewish Israel and the secular Syrian regime of President Bashar Assad as part of a foreign policy doctrine that Erdogan dubbed Zero Problems, which was designed to mend relations with all its neighbors. For a while, it worked: Erdogan formed a close bond with Assad, even inviting the Syrian dictator to vacation in Turkey. And Turkey quickly became Israel's best friend in the Islamic world (a bar that was, admittedly, low).

But its ties with both Israel and Syria have foundered recently. Relations between Turkey and Israel, already at odds over a December 2008 Israeli assault on Gaza that left more than 1,300 Palestinians dead, broke down completely in May 2010, when Israeli commandos halted a Turkish-led aid flotilla bound for Gaza in international waters. In the fighting that broke out, eight Turks and one Turkish American were killed. Israel claims its troops were attacked on board. Erdogan says that nothing short of a formal apology and the lifting of Israel's blockade of Gaza will repair a once promising friendship.

Erdogan's initiatives with Syria have similarly unraveled. When the Arab Spring inspired an uprising against Assad, Erdogan tried to coax the Syrian leader into implementing political reforms. "He overestimated his ability to persuade Assad," says F. Stephen Larabee, an expert on Turkey at the Rand Corp. Once Assad reneged on his prom-

ise of reforms, Erdogan grew openly contemptuous of the Syrian strongman. "It is impossible to preserve my friendship with people who are allegedly leaders when they are attacking their own people," he says. In recent weeks, the rhetoric has grown sharper still: Erdogan has explicitly called for Assad's resignation, and the Syrian has accused his former friend of imperial ambitions. Turkey openly supports and shelters anti-Assad groups, and Assad loyalists have attacked Turkish diplomatic offices.

The break with former allies may have dashed Erdogan's hopes of being a regional peacemaker. It also complicates matters for the U.S., which had hoped Turkey could gradually draw Syria away from the Iranian sphere of influence. Nor does it help that the U.S.'s two closest allies in the region, Turkey and Israel, are now at loggerheads.

Other challenges abound. Erdogan's diplomatic head start in the Arab Spring countries will be difficult to maintain as other regional and world powers jockey for influence. And domestically, his position is far from unassailable. He is notoriously thin-skinned about criticism and paranoid about coups. (The latter is perhaps understandable: the Turkish military overthrew four elected governments in the 40 years before the AKP's 2002 victory.)

And for all the Erdogan government's desire for Turkey to be seen as a modern state equal in freedoms to any in Europe, Ankara has jailed 68 journalists, accusing them of complicity in coup plots. Likewise, its treatment of Turkey's Kurdish minority has fluctuated between promises of political compromise and old-fashioned military repression.

In the political arena, Erdogan's next goal is to rewrite the Turkish constitution. Fears that he will dilute the nation's secularism have been replaced by a concern that he will push for executive power to be concentrated in the office of the President and then seek that office himself. The presidency is currently a mostly ornamental position, held by Erdogan's longtime ally Abdullah Gül. Istanbul salons are rife with talk of the two men switching roles after the constitution is rewritten, drawing comparisons to the Medvedev-Putin swap in Moscow. It's a testament to how far the Islamist icon has come. His critics no longer worry that he may turn Turkey into another Iran. They now fear he will turn it into another Russia. —WITH REPORTING

BY PELIN TUGUT/ISTANBUL

Erdogan has greatly enhanced Turkey's international reputation and has for the most part maintained a pro-West stance

RUSSIA'S NEW GUARD

When Vladimir Putin resumes the presidency, he'll have to deal with a young generation that wants reform—and results

BY NATHAN THORNBURGH AND SIMON SHUSTER/KALININGRAD

ALENA ARSHINOVA, 26, IS RUNNING for a seat in the Russian parliament. A onetime model who loves yoga, vegetarianism and Mother Russia, she works with Molodaya Gvardiya (Young Guard), the youth wing of Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's ruling United Russia party. With her silken hair and telegenic teeth, she has become not just a leader of Young Guard but also something of a spokesmodel: her face is on T-shirts, and pictures of her hang throughout its Moscow headquarters.

But Arshinova is no empty vessel. She clawed her way from the backwater enclave of Transnistria, near Moldova, where she grew up, to make a success of herself in Moscow, the gilded heart of Russia. She's about to defend her dissertation in the Ph.D. sociology program (subject: extremism) at the prestigious Moscow State University. And thanks to the support of Putin, she has spearheaded national campaigns to bring wi-fi to universities and public transit around the country. After she made a personal plea to Putin at a party conference—the first time she met him in person, she says—the Prime Minister set aside \$250 million for renewing Russia's decrepit university student housing.

Arshinova has a reputation for her somewhat aggressive ideology, but in an interview at a chic Italian restaurant that, like every other moneyed spot in landlocked Moscow, seems to serve mostly sushi, she is more nuanced. Yes, she wishes Russia could solve problems like Internet access without needing a personal audience with the Prime Minister. No, she

doesn't want Putin to stay in power until 2024, a possibility if he wins two six-year terms. ("I want to see new, fresh, young people.") But she makes no apologies for the electoral domination of United Russia or for her tireless efforts to speak out against Putin's enemies. She is old enough to remember not the breadlines of the Soviet Union but her family's buying bread with a ration card during post-Soviet shock waves of hyperinflation. That, in her mind, is what liberal democracy wrought.

"If our party didn't have the majority, it would be endless talk," she says. "We'd have to form a coalition just to pass the budget every year." It would be, she says, *bardak*, a Russian word commonly used to describe the wild '90s, meaning roughly "a mess," "a madhouse."

Those memories help explain why Russia is now less free and less democratic than at any other point in its postcommunist history. When the Soviet Union was disbanded 20 years ago on Dec. 8, it seemed as if Russia's rejection of 70 years of communism meant it would turn to Western-style democracy as eagerly as its citizens turned to blue jeans. That hasn't happened. As President and as Prime Minister, Putin has ruled Russia in classic strongman style—consolidating power to the Kremlin, canceling regional elections and creating an environment in which dissenting journalists and businessmen are beaten, bankrupted, exiled, imprisoned or murdered. His unique brand of crony capitalism has sent Russia's corruption rating plummeting: out of 178 nations on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions index, Russia ranked 154th last year,

in a dead heat with the Central African Republic. The parliamentary elections on Dec. 4 will be the first test of Russia's reaction to Putin's announcement that he'll run again for President next spring (the vote has been confirmed for March 4), but United Russia—part of a Kremlin machine with deep control of media, banking, energy, automotive and other industries—is virtually assured of a majority.

In recent years, Russians have been more than happy to accept à la carte freedom rather than the full buffet; they can buy any kind of car and even listen to liberal radio if it pleases them. Street protests and calls for reform have been the province of other nations. But that may be changing. Russians even younger than Arshinova who don't remember the chaos of the '90s are beginning to wonder why their country is not as liberal or prosperous as the rest of Europe. Putin may be the old party boss, but in his next term he'll have to meet these new expectations. And the U.S., whose fate was once so tied to the Soviet Union's, will have to reckon with a changing Russia too.

Two Cheers for Democracy

THE SIMPLEST ANSWER TO QUESTIONS about why Russians are not more free: after everything they've been through, it just hasn't been a priority. Shortly after Putin took office in 2000, 81% of Russians surveyed by the Levada Center polling group said they wanted order even at the price of personal freedom and democracy. Seven years later, as Putin was ending his second term, 68% of respondents still held this view, despite the fact that he had



Party girl

Alena Arshinova at the headquarters of Young Guard, the youth wing of Putin's ruling United Russia party



muzzled the opposition and brought the most important media under state control. Russian wages had increased nearly eightfold during those first two terms. The economy had nearly doubled in size. "Democratization quickly fell to the back of people's minds," says Boris Dubin, a sociologist with the Levada Center.

Not everyone has forgotten it. Gennadi Burbulis, one of the founding fathers of democracy in Russia, hasn't held elected office in years, but he still has a genteel touch for retail politics. Thin and trim at 66, he kisses women on the hand, clasps men on the shoulder and tells them how glad he was to meet them. These moments seem to buoy him on what is an otherwise slightly forlorn, quixotic quest to explain his view of the past two decades of Russian history and his hopes for the future. As provost of small, liberal International University in Moscow, he crisscrosses Russia constantly to speak at minor conferences and gatherings, carrying a suitcase full of pamphlets about democracy and human rights—a traveling salesman of liberal ideals.

On a crisp, cloudless day in November, Burbulis stands in front of 75 or so university students in the western enclave of Kaliningrad and explains his credentials. "Gennadi Burbulis is a historic figure," he says as the students fidget and check their cell phones. He tells them that he was Boris Yeltsin's closest adviser. And he tells them that, along with Yeltsin, he signed the Belavezha accords, the papers that dissolved the Soviet Union on Dec. 8, 1991. The communist empire ended that day, with no air-raid sirens, no mushroom clouds, none of the nightmare imagery that had haunted two generations of Americans and Soviets. There were just six men—the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus—holed up in a hunting lodge in an ancient forest near the Polish border, declaring their secession and toasting the death of the Soviet Union.

The willful disbanding of the Soviet empire was supposed to ring in a new era of cooperation, especially between the world's superpowers, the U.S. and Russia. One of the first calls Burbulis and Yeltsin made after the signing, even before they called Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, was to U.S. President George H.W. Bush. When the breakup was finalized a few weeks later and Gorbachev turned power over to Yeltsin, Bush went on television to proclaim the event "a victory for democracy and freedom." It was, in effect, the last war America won. The hope was that Russians had won it too.

But that victory was short-lived. Egged on by American free-market economists, the reformers broke up state holdings and auctioned them off for pennies on the dol-

lar. Millions of Russians lost their jobs as hyperinflation wiped out their savings. Russia's GDP fell by 13% in 1991, 19% in 1992 and 12% in 1993, according to the International Monetary Fund. The country sank into a brutal depression. Free elections in 1993 packed the parliament with communists and nationalists who declared war against Yeltsin's policies; earlier that year, lawmakers had voted for Yeltsin's impeachment, and the would-be democrat ordered tanks to fire on the parliament building. Hundreds were killed, and by the time the smoke cleared, the country had lost faith in democracy.

The glow of freedom in those first post-Soviet years—the liberty to travel wherever, read whatever, vote for whomever—faded quickly. Russians' ballots, they learned, did not slow the slide into disorder or hold leaders to account. They got the worst of democracy, all uncertainty and no accountability. Fatalism, never far from the Russian psyche, set in. Better to focus on scraping out a living for yourself than on building a better society.

Worse yet, Russians feel that the West abandoned them in their time of need; in the minds of many, the *bardak* of the '90s was America's fault. The U.S.-led economic reforms were a disaster, and there's an argument to be made that the U.S. exploited the weakness of the new Russia by circumventing Moscow to gain quick influence in oil-rich former Soviet republics in Central Asia. "We expected they would pursue their interests," Burbulis says, "but we never thought they would be so blunt about it." There was never a Marshall Plan for Russia, in part because there was a strong undercurrent of *schadenfreude* in Washington about its former enemy's struggles.

More recent history leaves many Russians feeling that U.S. intentions are two-faced at best. The U.S. calls for cooperation but then pushes NATO to Russia's doorstep and offers deep support to its enemy Georgia. It doesn't help when American politicians lob threats—as Senator John McCain did when he said, just after Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was shot dead, that Putin should be "nervous." Fear of U.S. meddling adds to the ruling party's paranoia about domestic politics. Arshinova's Young Guard put out a 2012 calendar full of crude caricatures of various opposition politicians. The month of September features a drawing of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in a classroom "teaching" opposition activists about democracy next to a poster that reads *WE NEED OIL* and a map that suggests the U.S. might invade Russia.

The U.S. has its own views on the matter of guilt. For example, Washington had nothing to do with Russia's 1994 war



against its citizens in Chechnya—a conflict that added a sense of moral despair to Russia's dismal economy. But the clashing narratives from Moscow and Washington about what happened during Yeltsin's era will never be reconciled. The hurt of the '90s is too deep for Russians; seen through that pain, the ongoing jostling with the U.S. on issues from Libya to missile defense to NATO seems as inevitable as the rise of Putin as a strongman was.

The Kaliningrad Answer

IF TIME BUILT UP THIS NEW ENMITY between the two nations, it can also, to borrow a phrase, tear down that wall. You can see clues to how this might happen in the curious enclave of Kaliningrad. Occupied by the Soviets in 1945, it is not connected to the rest of Russia but is wedged between E.U. member states Poland and Lithuania. That distance from Moscow made it a particularly lawless place in the '90s, but now it is giving rise to something Burbulis calls the Kaliningrad answer. That is, Kaliningrad can look at its close neighbors, with their



vibrant economies and healthy electoral politics, and imagine a better way of life.

Alexander Storozhuk is a Kaliningrad farmer who happened to sit next to Burbulis on the flight from Moscow and recognized him immediately. "We talked about whether it was possible to build a society that would let people be free," he says. "Burbulis is trying to enlighten people." Storozhuk's farm—54 workers and 4,200 acres (1,700 hectares) of cabbages, carrots, beets and potatoes—is suffering because Russia lacks that freedom. He reels off a dizzying list of regulations and petty corruption that plague his industry; there are one-fifth the number of small farmers in the region that there were eight years ago, he says. The rest of them have gone out of business or left the country.

The difference in Kaliningrad, he says, is proximity. Its residents can drive to the E.U. and be home by dinner. Unlike people in the rest of Russia—which the locals call the mainland—Kaliningrad residents have no trouble getting even long-term visas to E.U. countries. "You cross the border and think, What the hell?" says Storozhuk.

Highest good Burbulis, a former Yeltsin adviser who presses for liberal ideas in Russia, at the memorial to Immanuel Kant in Kaliningrad

"We can see in other countries that there is another way." That ringside seat to Europe is part of what in early 2010 drove Kaliningrad to hold the largest protest ever against Putin's United Russia. More than 10,000 people took to the streets, shouting slogans against the party and the governor Putin appointed. Amazingly, it worked. The governor stepped down, the Kremlin appointed a Kaliningrad native to replace him, and Moscow announced a passel of new infrastructure projects to placate the region.

The proximity that Kaliningrad enjoys is coming, in essence, to the rest of Russia. As of this year, the country has more Internet users than anywhere else in Europe; if they can't visit the West, they can see it. And throughout Russia, they are doing what informed people do everywhere—demanding a better life, more efficient government, a leader who gets results. Anticorruption blogger Alexei Navalny has become one of the most read commentators in the country.

Reform-minded business owners are anxious, as are a broad range of interest groups far removed from the intelligentsia of western Russia. Even the Union of Military Sailors, traditionally a stronger supporter of the state, called for its members to vote against United Russia on Dec. 4. "[We] are degraded and offended to the depths of our souls by the party of power," it wrote in a statement that blasted the Kremlin for low military pensions and a general lack of accountability. "More and more people, especially in the last two years, have started feeling uncertain about what kind of country they are living in and where it is headed," says sociologist Dubin. "They are asking, Where are these people at the top taking us?"

That does not necessarily mean that Russians will take to the streets and call for Putin's ouster. But it does mean that Putin's next six years as President will see more demands for the kind of progress—social mobility and economic freedom, at the very least—that he has failed to deliver so far. Discontent has already made several impromptu appearances. At a late-November martial-arts event, in front of people who are the judo-loving Prime Minister's natural constituency, Putin was openly booed. He seemed visibly shocked by this, but his troubles will only be compounded by the maturing of a generation younger than Arshinova's, which has no memory of the bleak '90s, a generation that has judged itself solely against the rest of Europe. Members of that generation will have seen plenty of anti-Western propaganda, but they will be less likely to latch onto it as an answer to all their inquietude.

Arshinova has an agenda for Russia that she sounds prepared to act on, with or without Putin. She says she has her differences with the old guard of United Russia and even wishes there were more credible opposition, a somewhat dubious claim, since Young Guard spends a lot of energy shouting down what opposition there is. Still, she says she had particular hopes for Mikhail Prokhorov, the billionaire nickel magnate (and owner of the New Jersey Nets) who started a quasi-opposition party only to be disqualified after some undisclosed conflict with the Kremlin. Her political career, she says, has taken a personal toll. She loves to travel but cannot. She says she would be more beautiful if she were able to take better care of herself instead of constantly working. Like many other Russians, she wants something in return for her toils: progress.

"I am not a blind fan of Mr. Putin," Arshinova says. By the end of his next term, in 2018, "I want to see the results of reforms—of police, of education, of utilities," she says. "I want to see the results of my efforts. Then I will continue to believe." ■

SOCIETY

PENN STATE

Life in State College, Pa., where Joe Paterno reigned, takes place in a bubble. It's a football-first culture that can warp reality—and morality

By Sean Gregory with Kayla Wesley





E OF MIND

*Walk on by Accused child molester
Jerry Sandusky's image was removed, far left,
from a mural of Penn State greats*

Photograph by Peter van Agtmael for TIME

IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING THE REVELATIONS of the sex scandal at Penn State, the horrific details of a football coach's alleged rape of young boys were difficult to believe. The community's response bordered on incomprehensible: students rioting in defense of Joe Paterno, the revered football giant who lost his job as head coach for failing to do more to stop the abuse; alumni at a tailgate party, arguing that Paterno's indifference was no big deal and chanting, "You gotta fight/ For your right/ For JoePa!" to the tune of the Beastie Boys classic; the funeral-home director, escorting a grieving man from the room where he had just identified his deceased mother, saying, "Don't you think there has been a rush to judgment on Joe Paterno?"

"From the outside looking in, you can't understand it," says Andrew Hanselman, a senior majoring in marketing, on the close-knit Penn State culture. "From the inside looking out, you can't explain it."

But as more and more campuses confront the cost of an insular culture, the need to understand—and take action—will only grow. In another college-sports capital, Syracuse University assistant basketball coach Bernie Fine was fired Nov. 27 after being accused of molesting at least three boys during his 36-year career.

In places like Syracuse, N.Y.; State College, Pa.; and Columbus, Ohio, college sports are now too-big-to-fail economies, and this has implications for everything from the safety of students to the mission of the universities. "Some campuses have a misguided perspective," says Brett Sokolow, a managing partner at the National Center for Higher Education Risk Management, "that covering these things up will help them in the long term." But if there is a lesson being learned in State College, it is not just danger that comes in the cover-up; it is the risk you face from what you can't see in the first place.

The Happy Valley Bubble

PENN STATE SEES ITSELF AS A PLACE THAT breeds an intense, familial sense of loyalty. It's partly the university's setting—nestled in Happy Valley, the third safest metropolitan area in the U.S., in a town *Psychology Today* once called one of the least stressful places to live in America. People tend to show up as students and stay forever, in spirit if not in fact. "Even when you leave State College," says Scott Kretchmar, a professor of exercise and sport science who arrived on campus in 1984, "it's attached to you like an umbilical cord." The Penn State Alumni Association,

with more than 165,000 members, is the largest dues-paying alumni group in the world. Most senior athletic-department officials are Penn State grads who have worked at the school for decades.

And why would they leave a place where football is cause for epic celebrations that draw more than 100,000 people on Saturdays to the second largest stadium in the western hemisphere, where players are kings and coaches are gods, and none more so than Paterno, presiding for more than 45 years over a \$72.7 million empire, the fifth richest among college programs? Penn State football made a \$53.2 million profit last year, second only to the University of Texas' \$71.2 million. Paterno earned millions from Penn State; he and his wife donated more than \$4 million to the school.

With his philanthropy came great power. According to a recent *Wall Street Journal* report, Paterno thwarted the efforts of Vicky Triponey, the school's former standards-and-conduct officer, to discipline football players for, among other transgressions, beating up other students. Paterno even threatened to stop fundraising if she

was not fired. Triponey resigned in 2007. "It's no secret that Penn State football acted unfettered," says Donald Heller, an education professor at Penn State, "and without institutional control."

Matt Paknis, like Paterno an alumni of Brown University, was a graduate assistant coach for Penn State in the late 1980s. "I always scratched my head about that place," says Paknis, now a leadership-development consultant living in Massachusetts. "You had to fit into the approval system that was out there. There wasn't a lot of challenging, saying, 'What's going on here?'"

Paknis, maybe because of his low status, was never welcomed into the inner circle, he says. "There was this projection outside of Penn State that he was the dean, this nice old guy," he says of Paterno. "That's the furthest thing from the truth. He ruled with an iron fist." In that environment, Paknis believes, Penn State would be loath to look too closely at the accusations swirling around former assistant coach Jerry Sandusky, for fear of damaging the brand. But other Penn State veterans strongly dispute that self-





Mixed message Roses dropped at the statue of disgraced football coach Joe Paterno reveal the conflicted state of mind at the university

points to two cognitive tricks: selective perception and subjective perception. Selective perception is our bias toward ignoring information that is at odds with our worldview. Subjective perception explains our tendency to couple uncomfortable information with reaffirming facts in order to make ourselves feel better. For example, Penn Staters deny abuse. But pair that with anger over the indignity of Paterno's dismissal, and Paterno becomes a victim.

Cohesive groups like the Penn State football leadership tend to draw boundaries around themselves. "We apply rules of fair and just behavior to our own groups and people within them," says Michelle Duffy, an organizational-behavior professor at the University of Minnesota's Carlson School of Management. "But we morally exclude outsiders. In some ways you are dehumanizing out-group members—in this case, the victims."

That dynamic helps explain the problems that can come from campuses that act like city-states, with law-enforcement systems operating independently of local and federal officials. Many campuses have their own police departments, staffed with sworn officers who have the authority to investigate everything from break-ins to murders. Depending on the transgression and how it is reported, some alleged crimes are dealt with on campus, and some are passed to local prosecutors. The colleges have unusual discretion, although stronger enforcement of federal laws is affording them less latitude. The Clery Act, signed into law in 1990, requires colleges and universities that receive federal funds to disclose the number of criminal offenses recorded on campus. Until recently, however, the Clery Act has lacked teeth.

Less than transparent reporting of campus crime is a problem beyond Penn State, especially when athletes are involved. So the Obama Administration has created a team dedicated to strengthening enforcement. In early October, the U.S. Department of Education opened an investigation of Marquette University after two female students accused athletes of sexual misconduct. The university has been accused by a local prosecutor of failing to report the allegation to Milwaukee police as mandated by Wisconsin law. This year, six institutions are facing fines. That's the same number of schools that the Department of Education fined in the

first 18 years of the law's existence. Now 49 schools have been investigated, 26 of them in the past three years. Six-figure fines are the new norm. "We're just beginning to break the silence of sexual violence that exists on campuses," says Alison Kiss, the executive director of Security on Campus, a college safety-advocacy group.

The Grand Experiment Revisited

DURING HIS 45 PLUS YEARS AS HEAD FOOTBALL COACH, Paterno conducted what he termed "the grand experiment": the idea that major-college athletes could contend for national championships while excelling in the classroom. For the most part, it succeeded. Out of this current painful event, Penn State has a chance to try a new grand experiment. The school could drop football for at least a year.

Such a decision would not be unprecedented. In 1939, University of Chicago president Robert Hutchins, scornful of schools that drew too much attention for their sports teams, ditched football. "We Americans are the only people in human history who ever got sport mixed up with higher education," Hutchins wrote in a 1954 *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED* article explaining his decision and advocating that others follow suit.

Through the Penn State example, schools across the U.S. would be forced to think about rebalancing academics and athletics. Nearly a third of the players on the Texas Tech football team don't graduate. But in the Big 12 conference, Texas Tech is actually the top academic performer. Among 65 schools with major-college-football programs, only three—Northwestern, Boston College and Duke—graduate 90% or more of their football players. According to Duke University economist Charles Clotfelter, salaries for football coaches at 44 major public universities have grown 750%, on an inflation-adjusted basis, since 1985. Salaries for professors at these schools have risen 32%.

Six months ago, Ohio State football coach Jim Tressel resigned under pressure after trying to cover up NCAA violations. It was a chance for Ohio State president Gordon Gee, who once abolished the athletics department at Vanderbilt University to better integrate sports with that school, to reset the terms on his campus. But on Nov. 28, he announced the hiring of Urban Meyer as football coach, with one of the richest contracts in college-sports history—\$24 million plus a country club membership and a private plane for personal use. The campus bubble keeps inflating; is Penn State, or anyone else, going to pop it?

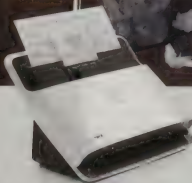
—WITH REPORTING BY ERIC DODDS ■

The Psychology of Protection

WITHIN A COLLEGE BUBBLE, SAY ORGANIZATIONAL psychologists, the urge to shape your mental picture of the world can be overwhelming. "Culture trumps everything," says Laura Finfer, a psychologist and a principal at a New York City executive consulting firm. Colleges, Finfer has found, can be quite clannish: "Cultures define you, and you become blind to everything in front of your eyes."

Or the way you see things changes. Ray Aldag, a management professor at the University of Wisconsin's School of Business,

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India's Online Shopping Spree

With the number of Internet users expected to triple by 2015, India's e-tail market is heating up once again

BY MRIDU KHULLAR RELPH/NEW DELHI



IN 1999, ALOK MITTAL JOINED THE thousands of Indian entrepreneurs scrambling to take part in the global dotcom boom. His Delhi-based business, JobsAhead, which launched as a two-man gig with \$500,000 from friends and family, aimed to connect Indian employers with local job seekers. By 2004, Mittal had grown the business into a 150-employee shop that was sold to online-job-search giant Monster for \$8.8 million. Mittal was one of the lucky ones. Practically every other Internet start-up in India went bust during the dotcom crash of 2000 as rich Western investors pulled their venture capital out of emerging markets to concentrate on repairing their portfolios at home.

Mittal is once again back in the game, this time funding new businesses and hoping to profit from India's second dotcom boom. After a decade of relatively slow growth in Internet use in the '90s due to India's sluggish, red-tape-riddled economy and poor infrastructure, the number of Internet users in the country is skyrocketing thanks to new investment in the sector and a growing number of middle-class consumers who can afford access. The number of Indian Internet users is expected to nearly triple in the next three years, from 80 million today

to 230 million in 2015. The number of broadband users, critical to the success of Indian e-commerce, is also forecast to rise over the same period, from 1.7% to 12.5% of the population.

It's not just local players who are looking to cash in; there's Silicon Valley money pouring into the subcontinent too. To many investors, the growth prospects of tech firms in India are more attractive than those in other emerging markets like China, Brazil and Russia, where Internet penetration has grown to roughly 30%, compared with only 7% in India. China's Internet boom has matured over the past decade thanks to heavy infrastructure investment and support for homegrown companies. Its e-commerce sector is worth an estimated \$74 billion, according to the Boston Consulting Group, whereas India's is worth \$10 billion. The Indian government is playing catch-up, but if it makes good on its recent promises to boost the number of broadband connections more than tenfold by 2017, the payoff could be huge.

India already holds certain advantages for private investors. Unlike those in Russia and China, where state-run companies rule the roost, tech investors and entrepreneurs in India stand to benefit from the country's more open markets and rule of law. "In India, you don't have to worry about the government shutting you down or asking you for your Internet user base," says Prashant Agrawal, a Mumbai-based tech analyst at Boston Consulting Group. If local entrepreneurs capitalize on the country's strong tech roots and their inside knowledge of the Indian consumer, he says, they could beat out Western players like Amazon and Groupon to become India's first crop of tech giants.

The money is already pouring in. More than \$230 million has been pumped into India's dotcom market this year alone, with additional funds coming down the pipeline from eager local and global investors. The bulk of the funding is going to e-tailers, which are raking in buckets of cash from India's rising consumer class,

The Market By the Numbers



which, at 160 million people, is roughly the same size as China's. Snapdeal, a daily-discount site similar to Groupon, expects to pull in \$29 million in profit this year compared with practically nothing a year ago. This year it secured \$40 million in the largest-ever capital injection into an Indian Internet company. Flipkart, the Amazon.com of India—which sells books, music and gadgets online—may soon win \$150 million in funding, according to venture-capital intelligencer VCCircle, which would put its value at \$1 billion after a mere four years in business.

Deals like those still pale in comparison with tech investments in China, where online retailer Jingdong Mall has raised \$1.5 billion from a group of high-profile investors like Digital Sky Technologies, which also invested in Facebook and Groupon, and Robin Li, the boss of Chinese Internet giant Baidu. But even India's smaller money rush is raising questions about whether its e-boom is a bubble. Indian e-tailers argue, not surprisingly, that the growth is real, chiefly because of the country's dramatic rise in Internet users, which is coming later and with less hype than China's. And since many investors have been in the market for over a decade, they have the benefit of hindsight, which means, says Snapdeal CEO Kunal Bahl, that "no one gives any free lunches now."

They'll have plenty of competition from

outsiders. Savvier foreign investors have better access to India's e-market than they did a decade ago. A new law that will allow foreign retailers to become majority shareholders in Indian businesses has opened the floodgates to large foreign deals. The biggest player on the scene is Amazon, which is rumored to be scouting India's business community for senior executives and staffing up in Hyderabad, Bangalore and Chennai (formerly Madras). "Amazon didn't become the market leader in China, which is why it's looking to get an aggressive head start in India," says Boston Consulting Group's Agrawal.

But ramping up its e-commerce business in India will be harder than recruiting. Internet companies like Facebook and Google have been successful in India, but their businesses don't require much local knowledge. E-tail, by contrast, demands on-the-ground logistics and a shrewd sense of local tastes in areas like jobs, matchmaking and travel. That's what hurt Amazon in China: "It got outsmarted by the Chinese local guy," says Agrawal.

Catering to the Indian pocketbook will be critical for any e-commerce start-up. Unlike consumers in the U.S., many Indians aren't yet comfortable with shopping on the Web and handing over their credit-card numbers online. "India's mass market still responds to cash upon delivery," says Vani Kola, co-founder of venture-capital firm NEA-IndoUS Ventures. And there's the matter of India's sluggish infrastructure. "In the U.S., you'd just FedEx a parcel back if you weren't satisfied with the product," says Ishita Swarup, founder of online retailer 99bables. "That's very difficult to do in India."

Those complications give e-commerce locals a leg up over big foreign competitors like Amazon. Flipkart, which sends out 15 million shipments a day, has already built a network of 400 delivery personnel across 27 big Indian cities. Those advantages make it difficult for big foreign operations to wield power over smaller local shops. Flipkart, which has denied rumors that it is in acquisition talks with Amazon, says it wants to scale up on its own after securing seed money from Silicon Valley venture-capital firm Accel Partners and \$31 million in funding from New York City's Tiger Global. "We have no plans to sell," says Flipkart CEO Sachin Bansal, who quit his job as an Amazon software engineer in Bangalore to co-found the company with Binny Bansal in 2007.

He can afford to wait. A major Internet growth spurt is coming in India; it's just a matter of how soon and how big. ■

Local firms are wary of being squashed by deals with Western corporations

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Styling for the Subcontinent

Designer Hermès hopes its new line of bespoke saris will woo India's elite

BY ROYA WOLVERSON

WHEN PAKISTAN'S NEW FOREIGN Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar, made her first official visit to India this summer, it wasn't the looming India-Pakistan peace talks that got the local media chattering. It was Khar's over-size Hermès handbag. PAK PUTS ON ITS BEST FACE, read a *Times of India* headline. Fashion blogger Amara Javed tweeted that Khar looked "more glamorous than Catherine Middleton. Take THAT world." Khar's Hermès Birkin bag, an exclusive item carried by such Western megacelebrities as Heidi Klum and Catherine Zeta-Jones, lent her outfit Western movie-star flair. But the bulk of Khar's glamorous getup—a flowy blue tunic and matching scarf—honored her native style.

Khar's costume was illustrative of the state of the luxury-goods market in India: fashion watchers may fawn over Western-designed handbags and accessories, but when it comes to women's apparel, local designers can't be beat. Chinese, Brazilian and Russian consumers will wear whatever European and American designers decide is cool. Not Indians, who are much more devoted to their traditional garments.

Now Hermès, a 174-year-old Parisian fashion house, is hoping to change that by marrying its luxe heritage and craftsman-



West meets East The Patch sari is made of silk twill and features the Hermès H

ship to Indian tastes. In October, under the direction of Bertrand Michaud, president of Hermès India, the company launched a limited edition of French-made saris aimed at wooing Indian women. "The Indian people know quality and craftsmanship," says Michaud. "We're bringing the best of our silk craft to an Indian piece."

Hermès is the first Western designer to not only attempt a line of saris—which sold out for roughly \$6,000 to \$8,000 apiece within six weeks—but also try to design specifically for Indian fashion tastes rather than just export the clothing that's selling in Europe or the U.S. The idea, says Michaud, is for Hermès to "be part of Indian life."

And to cater to a flush emerging-market elite. The Chinese luxury-goods market, for instance, was already worth \$12 billion in 2010, and it's expected to more than double by 2015, to \$30 billion. It would then account for roughly 20% of global luxury sales. In India, an economy about one-third the size of China's and with one-fifth the number of millionaires, there's a lot more room to grow. Luxury sales totaled approximately \$1.6 billion last year and are expected to expand to \$4.2 billion by 2015, or roughly 1.4%

of global retail sales. High retail tariffs and a tight urban real estate market for street-level stores have compressed sales in India, but so have more conservative tastes. When Indian consumers want to make a splash, they tend to spend on high-quality local jewelry and restaurants rather than brand-heavy Western clothes. Getting Indian women to forgo their local, custom-tailored saris for Western designs is a tougher challenge for firms like Hermès.

Making profit margins large enough is also tricky, since creating bespoke saris doesn't necessarily suit fashion houses that "design products for the whole world," says Neellesh Hundekari, an analyst at management consultancy A.T. Kearney. That may explain why Hermès' sari line was limited to 27 pieces. For now, the limited line "makes a sudden impact," says Hundekari. To win the war of profit as well as press will require a longer view.

The saris, which cost \$6,000 to \$8,000 apiece, sold out in six weeks



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Cleaning Up Conflict Minerals

Will a U.S. ban on minerals bought from warlords help or hurt Congo?

BY VIVIANNE WALT

IN EARLY NOVEMBER, THE U.N.'S HUMAN Development Report rolled off the presses with a catalog of disastrous statistics from failed countries. None ranked worse than the Democratic Republic of Congo, the huge swath of central Africa where the average person earns \$280 a year and dies at 48. Shocking—particularly since Congo sits on vast reserves of minerals critical to producing billions of smart phones, DVD players and other devices every year.

The perverse mix of war and wealth in Congo is under new pressure from U.S. policymakers. After years of human-rights organizations' decrying the indifference of technology companies to the people who dig for their minerals, Congress last year voted to try to halt the conflict-mineral trade from Congo, in a provision buried deep in the Dodd-Frank financial-reform act. A little-known section of the law requires U.S. public companies to independently audit their supply chains and declare that their products contain no tantalum, tin, tungsten or gold from mines linked to militia groups in Congo or neighboring countries. The motivation: For more than 15 years, Congo's mammoth

resources have underwritten militia groups fueling armed conflicts that are believed to have claimed the lives of millions of people. Congo produces as much as 20% of the global supply of tantalum, a mineral used to make capacitors for many electronic items, which is heavily mined in Congo's war-torn eastern provinces. The Washington-based human-rights NGO Enough estimates that armed groups earned about \$185 million from trading minerals in 2008.

But fighting conflict minerals is a tricky business. Some executives argue that Washington's latest efforts could go awry, leaving the Congolese even worse off. If regulations become too burdensome, they say, U.S. businesses might simply jump ship and source minerals in places like Australia, Brazil and Canada. The U.S. National Association of Manufacturers estimates it will cost U.S. companies \$9 billion to \$16 billion to implement the auditing and that if they go elsewhere, countries that care little about human

Dirty business Children make up as much as 30% of the labor force in Congo's small-scale mines

rights—chiefly China—could snap up cheap minerals in Congo in the same way China moved to purchase oil in Sudan and Iran following U.S. sanctions.

Figuring out what constitutes a conflict mineral is also problematic, says Rick Goss, vice president for environment and sustainability at the Information Technology Industry Council in Washington, since many militias have joined Congo's regular forces as part of its peace efforts. That could prompt Western companies to abandon all Congolese mines in an effort to avoid confusion.

There's also the problem of Congo's crumbling infrastructure, which makes conflict-free auditing exceedingly difficult. Michael Loch, director of supply-chain corporate responsibility for Motorola Solutions—which produces barcode scanners, two-way radios and other devices—visited the company's Congolese mines in July and says he was daunted by the idea of frequent daylong journeys on Congo's precarious dirt roads.

For these reasons, companies have pushed the Securities and Exchange Commission to include loopholes, like allowing some minerals to be declared "of indeterminate origin," a move human-rights advocates oppose. As rulemakers delay, tantalum exports from Congo are plummeting, by 70% so far this year, which advocacy groups worry is costing thousands of Congolese their jobs.

Yet despite all this, many U.S. firms say they'll stick around, in part because devices like smart phones depend on getting

minerals like tantalum on the cheap. Australia's, Brazil's and Canada's higher wages and production costs make its tantalum more expensive.

In July, Motorola Solutions began Solutions for Hope to clean up its supply chains in Africa and elsewhere, and Hewlett-Packard and Intel

have joined in. Buoyed by the efforts, Congolese officials for the first time have threatened to sanction companies engaged in mineral trade with armed groups. "That's a huge step forward," says Annie Dunnebacke, conflict-minerals specialist for the advocacy group Global Witness. In one of the world's most war-torn regions, sometimes threats alone can bring results. ■

20%
Estimated percentage
of the world supply
of tantalum produced
by Congo



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Growing up healthy in a growing city.

Siemens answers for healthcare help people flourish today – and tomorrow.

It's a typically sunny day in MacArthur Park. The kids are playing tag. A new mom is pushing a stroller. Senior citizens are doing tai chi.

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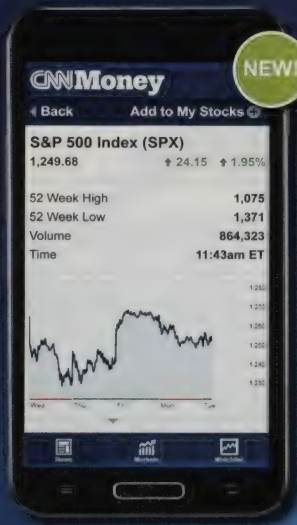
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Pop Chart



MI6's New Boy Genius



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Filmakers

Breaking Dawn—Part 1 was No. 1 at the box office in its first two weeks, with \$489.3 million in worldwide ticket sales.

Moviegoers

A particularly graphic birth scene has reportedly caused seizures among some audience members.

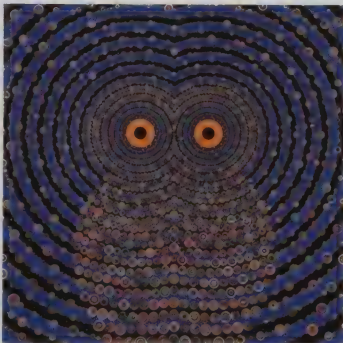


MARKETING Paper-Product Placement

Quill, an office-supplies site owned by Staples, is selling reams of printer paper branded with the name of the company from NBC's *The Office*. But take off the wrapper and it's like every other printer paper. We're not sure if this is a very smart idea or a very lazy one. Both?

Basel on the Beach

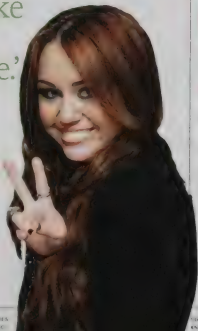
More than 260 galleries from five continents will gather Dec. 1–4 in Miami Beach to hawk the works of some 2,000 artists, including this photo collage from Brooklyn-based Fred Tomaselli, as part of the annual Art Basel Miami Beach fair. This year marks the 10th anniversary of the fair, which is marketed as the world's premier show for modern and contemporary works.



VERBATIM

'You know you're a stoner when your friends make you a Bob Marley cake.'

MILEY CYRUS, to partygoers after her 18th birthday bash, after being presented with a cake bearing an image of the singer's face. Despite a photo collage of Cyrus being the former *Hannah Montana* star has reportedly denied that she smokes weed.



MOVIES

MI6's New Boy Genius

It's been 10 years and two films since gadget guru Q was in a James Bond movie. Keeping in line with the young, lean Daniel Craig, 31-year-old Ben Whishaw has been cast as the single-lettered character in the upcoming 23rd Bond film, *Skyfall*.



Desmond Llewelyn



John Cleese



Ben Whishaw

Rich
dudes

Powerball
ticket buyers

Broke
dudes

DUMB LUCK

The Rich Get Richer

A trio of money managers who work at a firm in Greenwich, Conn.—one of the U.S.'s ritziest towns—won a \$254 million Powerball jackpot after purchasing a single \$1 ticket at a gas station.



STILL NIMBLE AT 40 The Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater returned for its 40th season at New York's City Center on Nov. 30 under a new artistic director, Robert Battle, its first since famed choreographer Judith Jamison took over following Ailey's death in 1989. Among the troupe's latest productions is *Home*, a hip-hop routine that celebrates people affected by HIV, appropriately set to premiere on World AIDS Day, Dec. 1.

MOVIES

A Turning Point for NC-17?

If the sexually explicit *Shame* is able to transform critical love into Oscar glory, it could put an end to (or at least temper) theaters' and advertisers' aversion to NC-17 films.

Shame was tagged for nudity and sexual situations

Shame was tagged for nudity and sexual situations

Shame was tagged for nudity and sexual situations



VERBATIM

'It feels like a character I created 30 years ago has somehow escaped the realm of fiction.'

ALAN MOORE, author of comic books and the novel *V for Vendetta*, on the impact of the hacktivist group Anonymous on his work.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Working on that book proposal.

Because it won't matter! All your book-advance money has been taken by Pippa Middleton, whose guide on how to be a great hostess was picked up for a reported \$600,000.

2. The direction of Daniel Radcliffe's career.

It's all over the place—a good thing for the *Harry Potter* star, who is finishing up a starring role on Broadway and just signed up to play Beat poet Allen Ginsberg in an upcoming film.

3. Black Friday and Cyber Monday.

Those phrases have been retired for the next 12 months.

Blood on the Ice

Tragedies are forcing the NHL to rethink fighting

By Sean Gregory

IN HOCKEY CIRCLES, THEY'RE KNOWN as tough guys, goons, enforcers. They're sluggers on skates. The job description is simple: You touch one of our talented players, our goal scorers, I pummel your face. Underneath the cocky, growling exterior of some hockey fighters, however, is something surprising: fear. Crippling fear. The kind that can keep you up all night before a game, stomach churning, half-wishing that when you do fall asleep, you don't wake up the next day.

Jim Thomson knew the feeling. A former enforcer, he played for six National Hockey League teams from 1986 to '94 and protected, among others, Wayne Gretzky. For Thomson, a steady diet of booze and painkillers helped untangle the late-night knots in his gut. He'd never let on, but whenever Thomson knew he'd have to fight the next day, he was terrified of getting his ass kicked in front of 15,000 fans howling for blood—his blood.

The NHL's enforcers, many of them marginally skilled at best, often become rent-a-fighters who drift from team to team until their usefulness runs out. Thomson says he sustained six documented concussions in his pro career and failed to report dozens of others. He's convinced that these blows to the head, received in dozens of fights, contributed to his anxiety, depression and addiction. Recent scientific research suggests such a connection. After Thomson's playing days ended, his addiction intensified and his depression worsened. At his low point, he curled up in bed, strung out on drugs and alcohol, thinking about taking his own life. "I know what being an enforcer did to me,

how it destroyed me," Thomson says.

Thanks to stints in rehab, Thomson was able to bounce back. He now trains hockey players and does some motivational speaking. Others haven't been so lucky. The recent deaths of three enforcers highlighted the potential link between head trauma and mental illness and ignited a debate about whether fighting should have a place in the NHL. In May, the New York Rangers' Derek Boogaard, whose 2010–11 season was cut short by a concussion, died of an accidental overdose of a painkiller and alcohol. Boogaard had a history of substance-abuse problems. On Aug. 15, Rick Rypien, a former Vancouver Canucks player who had just signed with the Winnipeg Jets, killed himself after a decade-long struggle with depression. Two weeks later, Wade Belak, a recently retired defenseman for the Nashville Predators, hanged himself. (Belak's parents have described his death as an accident.)

While of the three, only Rypien's issues with depression were well known, we are aware that mental illness carries a stigma in pro sports and can go hidden. And while only Boogaard had a documented history of concussions, we know that pro athletes often refuse to report concussions, afraid that time off the ice will cost them a job. Belak, Boogaard and Rypien got into over 400 pro-hockey fights combined; accumulated sub-concussive blows to the head may lead to additive behavior and depression.

You can't draw definite conclusions about the root cause of this year's tragedies, but some scientific hints are disturbing. A Boston University

In this 1974 fight, Rick MacLeish of the Philadelphia Flyers prepares to pound Jerry Butler of the New York Rangers





THE FIGHTERS

THE ICE

THE HEAD

THE REF

THE GLOVES



research center has diagnosed two former enforcers with chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), a degenerative brain disease found in people who have sustained repeated blows to the head. The enforcers were Bob Probert, one of the toughest players of all time, who died in 2010 of heart failure, and Reggie Fleming, who played in the prehelmet days and passed away in 2009 at 73. Fleming, a fierce and fearless player, had suffered from dementia and other CTE symptoms for 30 years. (CTE symptoms include substance abuse and depression and can be diagnosed only postmortem; the Boston University lab is conducting a study on Boogaard's brain.)

After several NFL players were diagnosed with CTE, football took steps to make that game safer. Hockey is trying to do the same. In January, NHL commissioner Gary Bettman noted that concussions are on the rise. If the league wants to reduce head trauma and the risk of its players going through hell, why not scrap a tradition that involves multiple bare-knuckle punches to the head? "The role of the enforcer must go," says Thomson. "What are we waiting for?"

Hockey fighting has passionate defenders, though, even among the enforcer ranks. "The beauty of our game is the diversity," says former enforcer Ryan VandenBussche, who served 70 penalty minutes for each of the 10 goals he scored in nine years in the NHL. "We give the fans what they want." In early October, one of hockey's highest-profile figures, irascible ex-coach and *Hockey Night in Canada* broadcaster Don Cherry, went so far as to call Thomson and two other enforcers "turncoats," "hypocrites" and "pukes" because Cherry thought they wanted to eliminate fighting. (Two of them didn't; Cherry later apologized.)

Bullies and Blood Sport

SINCE THE DAWN OF HOCKEY, FIGHTING has been ingrained in the game. Screamed one *Toronto Star* headline during the NHL's first season, in 1918: "Two NHL Players Under Arrest in Charge of Fighting, Fighting Players Remanded for Sentencing." After the Philadelphia Flyers of the 1970s, known as the Broad Street Bullies, intimidated their way to back-to-back Stanley Cups, teams started an arms race (a fists race, really) to stockpile enforcers. The 1977 film *Slap Shot*—which starred Paul Newman as a player-coach of a minor-league team that signs a trio of bespectacled goons—glorified hockey as blood sport.

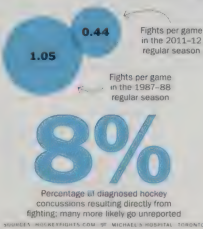
By the early '90s, the NHL began ditching out-to-game suspensions to players who left the bench during a brawl. After a lockout shut down the 2004–05 season, the NHL allowed longer passes and enforced rules against hooking and holding in order to emphasize skill and win back fans. These changes have allowed the game to flow, and with fewer stoppages and less clutch-and-grab defense, players are not as inclined to drop their gloves and square off. Today, according to the NHL, fighting

is down more than 50% from its late-1980s peak, to less than a fight every two games.

Not only is fighting less prevalent; its defenders point out that it's far from the main cause of concussions. According to research from St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto, fighting causes 8% of all diagnosed NHL concussions. Moreover, fighting proponents insist that throwing punches actually makes the game safer. If the NHL were to ban fighting, the argument goes, concussions could increase: without fear of retribution from enforcers, players might feel freer to take cheap shots. "It's not a gratuitous 'We like fighting,'" says ex-player Brendan Shanahan, now the NHL's chief disciplinarian. Players may be more likely to use their sticks as weapons, for example.

But the NHL is already handing out stiffer penalties for egregious hits to the head while the puck is in play. So why, if fighting were banned, would stick-waving maniacs suddenly emerge? Dr. Robert Cantu, a co-director of the Boston University concussion lab, labels as "horsebleep" the assertion that fighting causes just 8% of hockey concussions, since the research measures only diagnosed concussions. Judging by the enforcers he has examined, he says hockey fighters suffer concussion symptoms "about once every four fights."

And even if we suppose that fighting causes only 8% of concussions, aren't these worth eliminating? Football refs immediately break up brawls. If you fight in a soccer match, your team plays a man short for the rest of the game. Hockey in the Olympics and at the collegiate level in the U.S. survives without fisticuffs. Why can't the NHL? "We evolve with the times," says Thomson. "We once smoked on airplanes, but we stopped doing that when we found out it was killing us. Where do you see more head shots than in a hockey fight? Why don't we start at the top?"

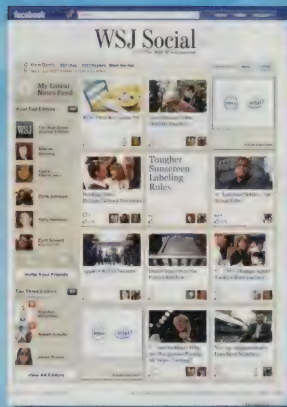


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Tech

Game of Phones. The iPhone gets some serious competition

By Harry McCracken

WHEN STEVE JOBS UNVEILED THE first iPhone in January 2007, he declared it was five years ahead of any other mobile phone. He was, as usual, eerily prescient. Only now, as the iPhone nears its fifth birthday, have Google and Microsoft designed mobile operating systems that are remotely Apple-like in terms of overall polish and power.

Google's Android system, which research firm Gartner says ships on 2.5% of the world's smart phones, was always bulging with features. The latest version (code-named Ice Cream Sandwich) removes much of the visual clutter that made the system tougher to use than the iPhone. Android 4.0 doesn't catch up to its main competitor, but consider the usability gap officially narrowed.

Then there's Microsoft's Windows Phone. It runs on a measly 1.5% of all smart phones. But if there's any justice in phoneland, version 7.5 will nudge that percentage meaningfully upward. It's got an utterly original, hyperefficient interface. And its focus on the people in your life—and their activities on social networks—makes it feel like the world's smartest address book.

Apple, meanwhile, is showing no signs of complacency. With innovative additions like Siri voice control, it's busy setting the agenda for the phone industry's next half-decade.



HTC RADAR 4G

(\$99.99, after \$50 rebate, with contract, on T-Mobile)

APPLE iPhone 4S

(\$199 with contract for 16 GB, on AT&T, Sprint and Verizon)

SAMSUNG GALAXY NEXUS

(Price to be determined, coming soon on Verizon)

THE SOFTWARE

With **Windows Phone 7.5's** streamlined interface, neatly integrated Facebook and Twitter features and versatile Bing search, you can do a lot without installing third-party apps. Which is a relief, since the selection is sparse. (Netflix and Spotify are available; Hulu and Pandora are not.)

The 4S's signature feature is Siri, the voice-controlled assistant that can answer questions, schedule reminders and more. But the toughest thing for rivals to compete with is the seamless, wide-ranging ecosystem that works with Apple's **iOS 5**, including the best stores for apps, music and movies.

Google's ungainly Android operating system gets far more approachable with the new **Ice Cream Sandwich** version, arriving first on the Nexus. (It whittles the four control buttons on previous Droids down to zero.) But some features, like the easily circumvented face-recognition security, remain gimmicky.

THE HARDWARE

One of just eight Windows Phones available on U.S. carriers, the snow-white Radar is slick and affordable. But it has a relatively skimpy 8 GB of memory and no way to add more.

The iPhone 4 upgrade gets a peppier processor and a much improved camera. Some people will pine, though, for a roomier display and high-speed 4G data transmission.

With its zippy 4G data connection, expansive 4.65-in. screen and gentle curves to make it a bit less boxy, the Nexus is a true superphone inside and out.

THE BOTTOM LINE

A clever underdog. Don't assume Windows Phone isn't for you until you've tried it.

Overall, still the benchmark by which other smart phones are measured.

A handset that regular folks and Android nerds alike can love.

LET'S TALK ABOUT PORTFOLIOS WITH A PLAN FOR THE UNPLANNED.

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Books

Heavyweight Contenders. 'Tis the season for big art books

By Richard Lacayo

WHAT IS IT ABOUT A BOOK WITH lots of pictures—preferably one heavy enough to get you hit with an excess-baggage charge at the airport—that screams “gift book”? During the holiday season, these door stoppers call to grownup gift givers the way puppies in pet-store windows call to kids. Except the kids don't want to wrap up the puppies and give them away.

Many of the best of this year's gift books—and all those grouped here—grew out of museum collections or shows. They come with lucid scholarly essays, texts that do more than *oooh* and *aaah* over the pictures but don't drag the art into the swamps of academy-speak. And with the exception of the limited-edition David Lynch collection, they can be found in retail stores or on Amazon for \$50 or less—a key number, as publishing experts say it's the current point of price resistance on gift books. The lush Alexander McQueen book retails for \$45, or roughly the cost of two 3-D-movie tickets plus popcorn and soda. Which is to say, it's a bargain.

In the future, most oversize art books will likely be available as “coffee-table” books on digital readers. (Of the books on these pages, only the British Museum's *100 Objects* is available in e-format.) For now, the gift book remains a tangible prestige offering: too big to be a stocking stuffer, much less a weightless download. And though it doesn't have a furry coat and a wet nose, at least you don't have to feed it. ■





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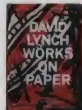


6

1. ALEXANDER MCQUEEN: SAVAGE BEAUTY
The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City devoted one of the hottest shows of the year to the lavishly gifted, jaggedly original British fashion designer Alexander McQueen, who was just 40 when he took his own life last year. No one ever operated more adroitly in the space where the outlandish becomes the exquisite—even, and especially, when McQueen ventured into the patently absurd (e.g. pony-skin jacket with antelope horns shooting up from the shoulders).



2. DAVID LYNCH: WORKS ON PAPER
First the Museum of Modern Art in New York City launched a show of merrily depraved art by director Tim Burton. This year the Fondation Cartier in Paris offered the often much darker scrawls of auteur David Lynch. The catalog by Steidl is full of intense abstractions, offhand oddities and explosive drawings. At times Lynch wanders down X-rated avenues, so this isn't a book to leave out for kids to see. But adults curious about the man behind *Blue Velvet* and *Mulholland Dr.* will want to hop on whatever road he takes.



3. THE LOUVRE: ALL THE PAINTINGS
Just what the title says—or at least all the paintings currently on display. 3,022 of them. Squeezed into 745 pages, most are reproduced on a small scale, but each of the featured artists gets one or more larger showcases. Just as you would on a visit to the museum, find your way to the Mona Lisa if you must, but linger over *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, Leonardo's haunting meditation on Christ's destiny, or Caravaggio's sly canvas *The Fortune Teller*.



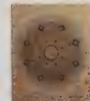
4. THE RADICAL CAMERA
From 1936 to 1951, the members of the Photo League turned their cameras on the everyday life of New York City, which in their pictures is anything but ordinary. The subject of a new show at the Jewish Museum in New York, the League attracted Lewis Hine, Berenice Abbott, W. Eugene Smith and that redoubtable tough guy Weegee, among other now famous names. More than 150 of their pictures are richly reproduced at full-page size in this altogether terrific book.



5. A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN 100 OBJECTS
The season's most unlikely best seller is a shelf-size volume with the soul of a coffee-table book. Based on a BBC radio series, this continually fascinating illustrated survey examines 100 exemplary items held by the British Museum in London—from a carved mammoth tusk to a credit card—that characterize their eras and shed light on the forward (if not always upward) movement of the human race. As the introduction says, "This is history only a thing can tell."



6. MASTERPIECES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC ART
New York's Met opened rich new galleries this year for Islamic art: largely decorative work raised to a high pitch of optical and spiritual intensity. But the Middle East and South Asia also produced magnificent examples of representational art. In an Afghan illustrated manuscript from the 16th century, even the Prophet Muhammad makes an appearance: he's carried toward heaven in a coil of golden clouds on the winged horse Buraq.



Food

Mac Attack. French macarons cost \$1.15 each, but many chefs are looking for a way to make them more affordable.

By Josh Ozersky

LADURÉE, A NEW PATISSERIE ON MANHATTAN'S tony Upper East Side, controls a cult. Its members are fashionable women, the sort whose closets are filled with Louboutin heels and La Perla underwear, and they have seized on Ladurée's macarons as this season's lit culinary accessory. Stop me if you've heard this story before.

Until recently the must-have confection for au courant New Yorkers was the cupcake, immortalized by *Sex and the City* and bus tours that stop at Magnolia Bakery in the West Village, where Carrie announced more than a decade ago that she had a crush on Aidan. But macaron (pronounced *mack-uh-rohn*) mania is a much swankier and more upscale affair. Cupcakes are Coach to macarons' Chanel. With soft disks of airy almond meringue conjoined by a creamy filling, the macaron bears little resemblance to America's dense, coconut-laden macaroon. Perfected at the original Ladurée in Paris some 80 years ago, the petite cookie sandwich did not begin its global conquest until 2005, when the patisserie opened its first shop outside France, in Harrods in London. Ladurée added nearly two dozen stores in Europe, Asia and the Middle East before making its North American debut on Madison Avenue in August.

By then, macarons had done cameos on *Gossip Girl*, and a macaron truck—touted as the world's first—was getting ready to hit the road in Chicago. Starbucks had tested macarons in some of its U.S. stores, and upscale bakeries like Tette in Beverly Hills and the online shop Mad Mac were doing a brisk business in the confections. Ladurée's arrival kicked the macaron trend into overdrive.

"Macarons are French, and everything French has that special alluring frisson," says Pavia Rosati, a former editor of the

Flavor like
cassis, pistachio
and vanilla
are low in
price, but
white chocolate
chestnut and
other varieties
are more
expensive.

Bakeries
macarons got
their first
pop in
Chicago
this year.

Todays' trendy
meringue
sandwiches were
perfected by a
Parisian pastry
chef in 1930.

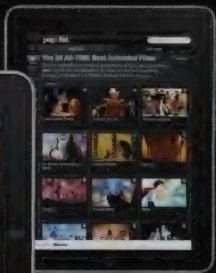
influential shopping newsletter *Daily Candy*. "Now that Ladurée opened an outpost in New York City, in-the-know foodies no longer need to schlepp them home from Paris."

It's not hard, looking at the assortment of macarons at Fauchon and Pierre Hermé in Paris or at Ladurée and François Payard Bakery in New York, to see why these little sandwiches are so compelling: they are beautiful. The flavors and fillings vary (salted caramel, orange blossom, pistachio, etc.), but what strikes you right away are the colors. Luminescent pinks, sea-foam greens, psychedelically yellows—they shimmer like the palette of Seurat or Matisse. "They are very colorful and feminine," says Payard, who makes and sells some 27,000 macarons a week, a 30% increase from a year ago. Macarons' unnaturally gorgeous hues neither dull nor wither with the hours. Ladurée ages its meringue for two days before serving, to add a delicate crisp to its cakey crumble.

The question, as with any consumer trend, is how long this infatuation will last. Skeptical observers, including me, have been predicting the demise of King Cupcake for years, and yet its popularity continues undiminished. Crumbs, a relatively small cupcake chain, went public earlier this year with an IPO valued at \$66 million. Magnolia, which was supposedly passé when it was on *Sex and the City*, still attracts long lines, albeit not as long—or as well dressed—as the ones at Ladurée. Can macarons maintain their culinary edge? Given Paris' track record as the radiant center of the fashion world and the fact that macarons are unmistakably a food-fashion hybrid, it seems a good bet. But whether an American company can someday command the cult, or the brand panache, of Ladurée is another story.

Photograph by Jamie Chung for TIME

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Movies



True Brits. A new Margaret Thatcher biopic joins an awards-season tradition

By Jessica Winter

HAVE YOU SEEN OR MADE A MOVIE THIS year? Do you wonder if this movie has a shot at the Oscars? Here's a scorecard:

- 1) Is your movie about famous, real-life people? If so: +1
- 2) Are your main characters British? +1
- 3) Are any of them British royalty? +1
- 4) Does your protagonist have a poignant physical or mental affliction? +1
- 5) Is Harvey Weinstein involved? +1

This formula is known as Firth's Theorem, named for the Englishman who helped score a perfect 5 last year as stampering George VI in the Weinstein Co.'s *The King's Speech*, winner of four Academy Awards. High Firth scores often correlate with strong Oscar showings. *The Queen* (2006), with a Firth score of 3, won Best Actress for Helen Mirren. *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (2007) and *The Young Victoria* (2009), also with scores of 3, each received a little gold man. In 1999, *Shakespeare in Love* racked up a 4 and took home seven statuettes. (Last spring's blockbuster reality show *The Royal Wedding*, with a star-making turn by Pippa Middleton, scored a 3 but is ineligible for the Oscars.)

These films belong to a subgenre—and awards-season staple—we'll call the

Anglophile Biopic. The latest AB is this month's Weinstein release *The Iron Lady*, which stars Meryl Streep as Margaret Thatcher and devotes much of its running time to the former Prime Minister's dotage as she succumbs to dementia. Streep has already won Best Actress from the New York Film Critics Circle and is all but assured an Oscar nod. No surprise, since *The Iron Lady* rates a 4 on the Firth scale—it's missing only a dash of royalty.

The AB's appeal to American Oscar voters is easy to parse. Stateside Anglophilia is, like Firth's Theorem, a matter of simple addition: colonial nostalgia (for the bratty aristo-Brits we call the Founding Fathers) + displaced princess fantasies + a guilty attraction to tidy class

hierarchies + an assumed link between intelligence and perfectly rounded vowels. As for the biopic aspect, Academy voters love them because the acting can be fact-checked: "Does this famous person remind me of this other famous person?" is answered more readily than "Did this actor convincingly conjure a fictional being from scratch?"

Streep's impersonation of Thatcher is predictably excellent. (She nails the hawklike posture and roiling persecution complex if not the lead-with-the-overbite speaking style.) Where *The Iron Lady* departs from the successful AB formula is in refusing to burrow into a discrete pocket of time. *The Queen* confined itself to the immediate aftermath of Princess Diana's death. *The King's Speech* to the painful prep for a radio address. This viewer-friendly temporal discipline is typical even of lesser ABs such as multiple Oscar nominee *Frost/Nixon* (Firth score: 2) and current Weinstein offering *My Week with Marilyn*, which has a shockingly high Firth rating of 4 despite its iconic American protagonist.

The Iron Lady hungers for such focus, retreating again and again to Thatcher's twilight years as she mooches around the house and chats with her dead husband. The flashbacks to peaks and valleys in her political career are pro forma and jumbled, while her many adversaries are reduced to either rabid street protesters or jowly Old Etonian snobs. A more incisive movie would, like ABs of yore, stick to one defining episode (her rise to the prime ministership, the Falklands war) or perhaps a single year of her reign. For example, Thatcher began 1981 with record-low approval ratings and faced riots, hunger strikes and economic turmoil yet emerged the following year with her power entrenched. Legend has it there was a royal wedding in 1981 too.

England's Dreaming
Firms that cater to Oscar's love of Blighty



THE KING'S SPEECH
Colin Firth plays George VI in what's perhaps the ultimate Anglophile Biopic



THE QUEEN
Like Firth, Helen Mirren won the top acting Oscar for portraying a stoic Windsor



MY WEEK WITH MARILYN
It's Monroe vs. Laurence Olivier (Kenneth Branagh) in this U.K.-set drama



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a message from Indonesia to the world

Education

Good Guess Why we shouldn't underestimate the value of estimating

By Annie Murphy Paul



QUICK, TAKE A GUESS: HOW TALL IS AN eight-story building? How many people can be transported per hour on a set of train tracks in France? How many barrels of oil does the U.S. import each year?

Maybe you gave these questions your best shot—or maybe you skimmed right over them, certain that such back-of-the-napkin conjecture wasn't worth your time. If you fall into the second, just-Google-it group, you may want to reconsider, especially if you're a parent. According to researchers who study the science of learning, estimation is the essential foundation for more advanced math skills. It's also crucial for the kind of abstract thinking that children need to do to get good grades in school and, when they're older, jobs in a knowledge-based economy.

Parents can foster their kids' guessing acumen by getting them to make everyday predictions, like how much all the items in the grocery cart will cost. Schools, too, should be giving more attention to the ability to estimate. Too many math textbooks "teach how to solve exactly stated problems exactly, whereas life often hands us

partly defined problems needing only moderately accurate solutions," says Sanjoo Mahajan, an associate professor of applied science and engineering at Olin College.

Research has shown that everyone, even a baby, possesses a basic ability to estimate. But studies also indicate that some people are much better guessers than others and that the differences are linked to a more general facility with arithmetic. For example, in a 2004 article in *Child Development*, psychologists at Carnegie Mellon University asked elementary-school students where to place various numbers on a horizontal line with a zero at one end and 100 at the other. Among the study's findings: the kids who were more accurate in

If you fall into the just-Google-it group, you may want to reconsider, especially if you're a parent

their estimates had also scored higher on a math achievement exam.

What gave the skilled guessers the edge? They pictured a line on which all the numbers were evenly spaced rather than one with the bigger numbers scrunched closer together. Most school children start out doing the latter and shift their understanding as they grow more experienced with numbers.

One of the more surprising ways to get kids thinking about numbers is to play board games with them. Flicking the spinner or rolling the dice and then counting out the spaces to move ahead on the board helps children adjust the number line that they carry around in their heads. As evidence, a board-game-based intervention program led by Clark University education professor Sharon Griffin produced large and lasting improvements in students' math performance.

Another estimation strategy Mahajan emphasizes in his book *Numbersight*, due out next summer, is to compare an unfamiliar quantity to what he calls "human-sized numbers"—thinking of a football field, for example, as being 60 dads long. Parents can help kids acquire more of these mental benchmarks by remarking on the dimensions they encounter in daily routines, like how many miles it is to Grandma's house. Children also benefit from hearing a range of others' estimates, so every family member should chime in.

Sharpen kids' logic enough and maybe some day they'll dazzle people at cocktail parties (or TED talks) the way Mahajan does with his ballpark calculations. His answers to the questions at the top of this story: 80 ft., 30,000 passengers and 4 billion barrels. To come up with these, he guessed at a lot of things. For instance, for the number of barrels of oil the U.S. imports, he made assumptions about the number of cars in the U.S., the number of miles driven per car per year and average gas mileage to arrive at the number of gallons used per year. Then he estimated how many gallons are in a barrel. He also assumed that imported oil is used for transportation and domestic for everything else. The official tally for U.S. imports in 2010 was 4,304,533,000 barrels. Mahajan's 4 billion isn't perfect, but it's close enough to be useful—and most of the time, that's what counts. ■

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Joel Stein



A League of Their Own

Adventures with women who love football
and the women who love to hate them

I DON'T LOVE SPORTS, BUT I DO LOVE women who love sports. They're passionate and competitive and don't mind when things get a little rough. My lovely wife Cassandra, however, hates sports. "You're rooting for this guy?" she says whenever I try to watch a game. "Do you know this guy? Is he your best friend? Are you related to him? You're about to punch your friend who's rooting for the opposing team because some millionaire from your state happened to buy the New Jersey Whatever?" It is hard to argue with a woman who came up with the most perfect team name in history.

The only thing that makes Cassandra more angry than me watching sports is women watching sports—especially football. She believes that all women hate football and that particularly guileful ones pretend to enjoy it to trick men into liking them. The few women who actually believe they enjoy watching football are subconsciously doing it to attract men. This is ridiculous, because anything any man does at any time is subconsciously to attract women too. That's why we have football, skyscrapers, wars and this column.

It was the most elitist, urban, sheltered thing I'd ever heard anyone say who wasn't me. That is, until I told her theory to my editor, who went to Harvard, worked at the *Paris Review* and—from what I gather from her final edit of this column—thinks it's undignified to have her name in print. She totally agreed with Cassandra. "They're like, 'Oh, you know me, I really like gu-u-u-u stuff,'" she said of female football lovers, in the least attractive way I can imagine. I'm sure she has a much stronger impression of Bernard Henri Lévy that killed at the *Paris Review*.

I explained that *Sunday Night Football* is the fourth most watched program

among women 18 to 49. That 44% of people who identify themselves as NFL fans are women. That Victoria's Secret sells New England Patriots underwear that says **TOUCHDOWN** on it. That last fact may have proved their point more than mine.

Questioning the sexual intentions of females who enjoy historically male behavior has a long sad history, stretching back to women who acted, drank, smoked and dated Mick Jagger. As a feminist—



particularly a feminist interested in spending a Sunday with a group of fun women—I decided to prove them wrong.

I arrived at a bar called Barney's Beanyer in L.A. early Sunday morning to meet a group of mostly 30-year-old women who compete in a fantasy league called the OMG Girls. They were sitting in front of a wall of floating flat screens, punching away on six iPads and a couple of laptops to keep track of stats. I realized I could already disprove Cassandra's theory, since there are much easier ways to attract men than multitasking between

multiple games and player records. Like going to a bar that doesn't show football.

I sat down next to Alyssa Roenigk and told her about the theory that she was just there to meet a guy, which she said was insane. "Men don't like women who like sports. They like women who tolerate their sports watching and make them sandwiches," says Roenigk, a former University of Florida cheerleader who writes for *ESPN: The Magazine*. "If I wanted to meet guys, I'd be in my yoga class doing my standing splits." This did not help my cause, since I'm pretty sure it counts as hitting on me.

The OMG Girls were smart and fun—taunting each other over games by sending each other beers with cruel notes attached to straws and then taunting back by drinking the beers *through the straws*. When the first batch of games ended, "Big" Bev Sloane sadly took off for home, as she does every week. "Otherwise," she says, "I'd be divorced." If Cassandra and my editor are right, Big Bev is using football to meet new men with a very long-term strategy.

Mike Girma, who comes to the bar every week, has never even noticed the OMG Girls there, despite the fact that he knows some of them from college. "I think it's because I'm so focused," he says. Now that he has found them, he's not going to ask any of them out, despite the fact that they are pretty much his ideal girlfriends. Because if they broke up, he'd have to stop watching football at this bar.

I left the bar before the last game ended, since I already had ironclad proof that the women weren't there to attract men. Not only had several of them not washed their hair, not only were they not wearing heels, but two of them started talking to me about Oprah. That's right: despite my inarguable sexual attractiveness, these women were not flirting with me. I even think that standing-split comment was meant in a gal-pal kind of way. Cassandra and my editor had gotten it backward: Women don't watch football to meet guys. Now sports-agnostic guys like me can watch football to meet women. ■

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10 Questions



Attenborough says frolicking with Rwandan gorillas in 1978 was one of his career highlights

Naturalist filmmaker and activist **David Attenborough** on dinosaurs, the future of TV and why he's a pessimist

Your new documentary, *Flying Monsters 3D*, is about dinosaurs. Aren't you usually interested in living things, things you can actually film?
I don't think an interest in the natural world needs to be confined to the creatures of the living. I first became really intoxicated with the natural world as a boy collecting fossils in the middle of England. They were shell fossils, but they were nonetheless very romantic.

Of all the dinosaurs, why pick pterosaurs?

Imagine them, a bird, an animal with a 40-ft. wingspan flying through the air. That's as dramatic as any tyrannosaur. It's extraordinary they have been neglected. Pterosaur fossils are much rarer because their bones are much more delicate than bones of robust creatures that were wandering around on the ground. They were very thin and hollow, so they're much more easily destroyed in the fossilization process.

Do you have a favorite ecosystem?

Outside of my hometown? I'm very fond of Southeast Asia and especially Borneo. I've found it to be particularly rich in species of animals and plants that occur nowhere else.

You've just been there. At age 84. Was that wise?

I first went to Borneo 50 years ago, and next year it will be

my 60th anniversary of making natural-history programs, and the BBC has asked me to make some programs to mark that event.

As the head of programming for the BBC, were you responsible

for putting *Monty Python's Flying Circus* on the air?

That's correct. I was also responsible for televised snooker, because I'd introduced color TV and the colored [billiard] balls showed off its advantages.

Do you feel optimistic about the future of media?

The problem is as networks and audiences get smaller, one is worried that there

won't be finances to produce the big-scale natural-history programs which I've been involved in over the past 50-odd years. The temptation to make programs quicker, faster, cheaper is a strong one if your income is going down.

Why are you campaigning against creationism being taught in British schools?

I feel that children should be taught science, and science doesn't accept a literal interpretation of the Bible, as far as Genesis is concerned. If you wish to teach that as part of religious story, that's fine, but don't teach it as though it's science, because it's not.

Are you still collecting things?

Yeah. If I come across a nice fossil, I certainly pick it up. And I have a weakness for buying books. I'm particularly fond of travel books published in the 20th century, especially on areas I've visited.

If you were to be reincarnated, what would you come back as?

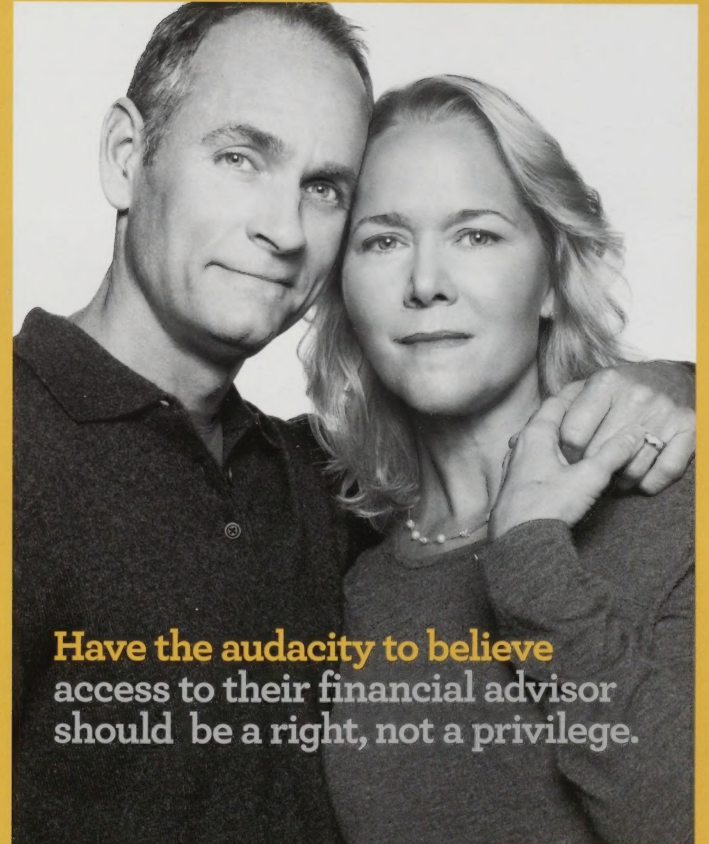
I would come back as a sloth. Hanging from a tree, chewing leaves sounds great.

Are you optimistic about the future of the natural world?

No, I'm not. There are three times as many people living on this world as when I started making television programs. They've all got to live somewhere. They've all got to find food. They all want to drive motorcars. All those things require land and space. The only place it can come from is the natural world. So the natural world is under increasing pressure.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



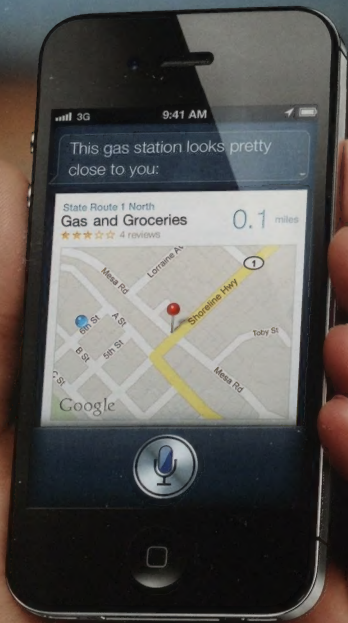


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